Out-group hate in the UK: Insights from race and religious hate crime representations and attitudes towards immigrants.

Ravi Dave

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UNIVERSITY OF LINCOLN

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Abstract

Hate crimes have become a common problem in the United Kingdom (UK), especially following the European Union (EU) referendum and the BREXIT vote in June 2016. Consequently, hate crimes have received a great deal of attention in the recent past, with increasing discussions tailored around the need to accurately record and investigate these crimes. However, the field of hate crimes is complicated by inaccuracies in reporting and recording of these crimes, in addition to there being no clear understanding of how hate crimes are constructed by the general public and the intersection between the public perceptions and hate crime scholarship. Hate crime policing has advocated the protection of five-strands of people that are most likely to be recipients of such victimisation, while statistics suggest that two of the strands, race and religion, account for 80% of hate crime in the UK. Due to the frequent occurrence of race and religious hate crimes in the UK, this research aimed to investigate the general public and cultural perceptions and understandings of race and religious hate crime, in particular. Using a mixed-method design, this thesis conducted three empirical studies to investigate the facets of race and religious hate crimes in the UK. Study 1 carried out a cultural analysis of hate crime by examining newspaper articles to extract the key attributes evident in the reporting of race and religious hate crimes. A total of 22 key variables were seen to present when reporting such crimes, so for the general public these maybe the trigger for, and ideas by which, they come to define and understand an event as possibly being a hate crime. Study 2 looked more specifically at this perception and understanding of race and religious hate crimes amongst the general public by using a 'story-completion task'. The results suggested a variety of themes by which people might understand and demarcate race and religious hate crime; these are key social-psychological factors that need to be considered in terms of hate crime practice and policy. Finally, Study 3 evaluated the underlying social-psychological factors that may contribute to negative attitudes towards out-groups, a well-established finding in previous literature and evident in study two, that *'othering'* and being seen as an out-group can be the basis of hate crime. The results suggested that people who are high on ethnocentrism are significantly more likely to show prejudice towards immigrants. In conclusion, the thesis highlighted that *'othering'* individuals based on prejudicial attitudes can lead to hate crimes, therefore it is proposed that education on ethnic differences and early interventions to reduce prejudice (e.g. incorporating discussions of ethnicity in school curriculums), may be beneficial in reducing overall prejudice amongst the general public, which in-turn would help reduce hate crimes.

Dedication

Aum Namah Parvati Pati, Har Har Mahadevah,

Aum bhur bhuvah svah,
tat savitur varin(i)yum,
bhargo devasya dhimahi,
dhiyo yo nah prachodayat…

- *Gayatri Mantra*

Basic Translation:

Oh God, the Protector, the basis of all life, Who is self-existent, Who is free from all pains and Whose contact frees the soul from all troubles, Who pervades the Universe and sustains all, the Creator and Energizer of the whole Universe, the Giver of happiness, Who is worthy of acceptance, the most excellent, Who is Pure and the Purifier of all, let us embrace that very God, so that He may direct our mental faculties in the right direction.

Three people have made this journey possible because of their love, support and care. My parents - a blessing in my life who gave me the right upbringing and taught me to be respectful, humble, and to fight and NEVER give up. I dedicate this to my mother who always stood by me, my wife who is the reason I pursued a PhD and for her emotional, mental and financial support, but more so to my father who blessed me from the heavens above.

This is for those three people I hold very close to my heart – Late. Mr Anilkumar Morarji Dave, Mrs. Rekha Anilkumar Dave, and Mrs. Megha Dave.

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Contents

PART THREE

SECTION E: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Chapter 6 – General Discussion

List of Abbreviations

AFS	Authoritarian F-Scale
ARFS	Attitudes towards Religious Fundamentalism Scale
BME	British and Minority Ethnic
BTP	British Transport Police
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
CFSEI	Culture-Free Self Esteem Inventory
CSEW	Crime Survey for England and Wales
GAI-R	General Attitudes to Immigrants - Revised
GENE	Generalised Ethnocentrism
HA-LM's	Hierarchy-attenuating legitimising Myths
HE-LM's	Hierarchy-enhancing legitimising Myths
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
HCSA	Hate Crime Statistics Act
ITT	Intergroup Threat Theory
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State of Syria
LHCP	Leicester Hate Crime Project
MMR	Mixed-Methods Research
NCRS	National Crime Recording Standards
NCVS	National Crime Victimisation Survey
NIBRS	National Incidence-Based Reporting System

SC	Story Completion
SCT	Self-Categorisation Theory
SDO	Social Dominance Orientation
SDT	Social Dominance Theory
SEE	Ethnocultural Empathy Scale
SIA	Social Identity Approach
SIMCA	Social Identity Model of Collective Action
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SRC	Salience in Religious Commitment
TA	Thematic Analysis
TMT	Terror Management Theory
UCR	Uniform Crime Report

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Thesis Outline

This thesis endeavoured to broaden the understanding of hate crimes, by principally looking at the general public's perception of these crimes, in particular race and religious hate crimes. The current thesis can be considered as a *'Top-Down'* or a *'Bottom-Up'* approach to investigating race and religious hate crimes.

Top-Down Approach

The idea of the thesis was led by the knowledge that hate crimes exist in society. These crimes manifest in different ways to express dislike or prejudice towards those groups who are seen as undesirable, or unworthy of equal treatment, compared to other 'worthy' groups (see. Perry, 2001). Therefore, the theoretical background to the phenomena of hate crimes led to subsequent research questions, aims and hypotheses. The studies were developed with the literature in mind, thus past literature shaped the direction of research in the thesis, to add to the field of hate crimes and support past research, whilst filling in the gaps in knowledge. In this way, this thesis was an attempt to understand race and religious hate crimes by drawing on what is known about these crimes, and accept or challenge the conventional wisdom presented in scholarship and policies.

In particular, Study 1 in this thesis employed a 'top-down' approach, whereby the attributes associated with hate crimes were explored based on previous literature and suggestions made by Berk (1990). Rather than statistics, here the focus was on how race and religious hate crimes are conceptualised in the media, and what features and characteristics of hate crimes are focussed upon and reported (e.g. location, victims, perpetrators, etc.). The media is an important source of information for the general public on many different topics (for example, crime, health, technology, politics and society), and influences peoples understanding and responses to such issues. The importance of this investigation is that, if the media representation is at odds with statistical findings, or how they represent hate crime is inconsistent with academic perspective; this could have a detrimental impact on victims reporting incidents, and the local and community response to such incidents.

Bottom-Up Approach

Alternatively, this thesis can also be considered a 'bottom-up' approach, whereby the studies set-out to answer questions that have either not been asked, or are in need of further investigation. The thesis identified gaps in literature and undertook an exploratory analysis as the core channel of investigation. For example, each of the studies in this thesis were led by a strive to uncover the key components of race and religious hate crimes, be it the attributes in these crimes, the perceptions of the general public on the actors of these crimes, or the social-psychological factors that may influence perpetrators of these crimes. These research questions and study aims were not theory-driven, even though they were related to the literature on hate crime. The studies in this thesis were exploratory, whereby observations and analysis led to knowledge of the topic, rather than the researcher actively seeking trends and pattern to support hypothesis. Thus, the observations confirmed the theoretical knowledge in some cases, at the same time as adding to the field of hate crimes. The thesis findings also highlighted the limitations in hate crime scholarship, policy, and practice, and offered progressive steps and key suggestions to develop it further. In this way, Study 2 and 3 of this thesis can be seen to employ a 'bottom-up' approach.

The second study focussed on the conceptualisation of race and religious hate crimes, as well as hate crimes more generally, amongst the general public. This study used a qualitative approach using a story-completion task (Clarke, Braun & Wooles, 2015; Kitzinger & Powell, 1995), in which participants were asked to write what they would expect in a typical hate crime scenario from a victim, police, and defendant/perpetrator perspective. This highlighted the perspectives of hate crimes of the general public. This thesis uses the term '*defendant/perpetrator*' as the stories were written from a defendant perspective, as if the general public were perpetrators defending their criminal behaviour. The findings are important not only because it informs one how the general public construct hate crimes, but also, indicate what the police, policy makers, and academia should further consider when confronting a hate crime incident, and highlight what might be important differences between race and religious hate crimes.

The third study presents a model of how different individualistic traits and ideologies relate to attitudes to immigrants in the UK. This study was built on the previous two studies by providing an understanding on how factors such as self-esteem, religiosity, and authoritarianism, can influence attitudes to other social and cultural groups using an online survey. Although attitudes to immigrants do not refer to hate crimes directly, they are recorded as race hate crimes, and thus contribute to the prevalence and statistics of race hate crimes in the UK, and race hate crimes accounted for almost 80% of hate crimes in the UK in 2017 (Home Office, 2017). Therefore, using a general public sample, this study aimed to explore the psychological traits which may underpin negative attitudes towards out-group members (i.e. immigrants), which can lead to hate crimes if these underlying prejudices are acted upon.

Main Outline

This thesis consists of three main parts: Part one consists of a single section (Section A) with two chapters outlining the general background to the thesis. More specifically, Chapter 1 of this thesis presents literature review focussing on different aspects of hate crimes (e.g. conceptualisation, policies, statistics), to highlight past advances, current trends, and gaps in literature for hate crime scholarship, practice, and policy. Chapter 2 presents an overview of the paradigms used in social and behavioural research, before providing a rationale for the use of mixed-methodology research (MMR) used in this thesis. The need for a MMR in this PhD is due to the thesis endeavouring to understand the *objective* facts around race and religious hate crimes, as well as the perception and conceptualisations of these crimes amongst the general public.

Part two of this thesis contains three sections (Section B, C, and D) forming the empirical component of this thesis. Chapter 3 (Section B) builds on the typology of hate crimes and its offenders, by looking at variables that are present in race and religious hate crime accounts. To do this, newspaper reports covering race and religious hate crimes between January 2015 and June 2016 (pre-BREXIT) were analysed using LexisNexis database and archives of individual newspapers. The study used quantitative methodology to present a comprehensive database of attributes represented in the media, when reporting race and religious hate crimes

in the UK. The chapter also critically appraises the findings in light of past research and trends in hate crimes, in addition to commenting on the limitations of the study, led by the potential problems of accuracy of the representativeness of hate crime incidents in the media, due to selection bias. This chapter was an attempt to overcome the limitations outlined by Berk (1990), who argued that any discussion around hate-motivated crimes in the absence of 'empirical regularity' is discomforting.

Chapters 4 (Section C) then was interested in the perception and constructions of hate crimes in the general public. This chapter outlined the meta-themes evident in what the general public would expect victims, police, and defendants/perpetrators of hate crimes, to find in typical incidents of race, religion, and unspecified hate crimes (incidents of hate crimes were the specific strand is not made explicit). The study used a story-completion task (Kitzinger & Powell, 1995) to elicit narratives from the general public, and thus gain insight into the understandings within society of unspecified hate crimes, race hate crimes, and religious hate crimes. Participants were asked to assume the perspective of the victim, police, and defendant/perpetrator, and write about the crime from each actor's perspective. The qualitative data that resulted was then analysed using thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Subsequently, the themes that emerged were critically discussed, and novel findings were offered to fill gaps in research and develop knowledge base of these crimes.

Chapter 5 (Section C) again used a quantitative design to investigate the social-psychological factors that influence out-group prejudice. A mediation analysis was conducted to see which factors were correlated with anti-immigrant sentiments amongst the general public. Attitudes towards immigrants were considered to be important line of inquiry, as crimes against this group are recorded under race hate crimes, as mentioned before (College of Policing, 2014). Therefore, assessing the factors that lead to negativity towards this group may provide useful insight into the motivations of race (and religious) hate crimes in the UK. The sample used in this study consisted of the general public, as all hate crime offenders are part of the general public, therefore this study gives some indication of the what perpetrators might think, their motivation(s), and general outlook of the world. Hence, the model that emerged provided insight into underlying social-psychological factors that lead to anti-immigrant sentiments and prejudice, towards out-groups more generally.

Finally, the general discussion chapter (Part Three; Section E; Chapter 6) draws on all the research aims and study outcomes in this thesis, and discusses them with respect to previous literature. This chapter also provides key findings of the thesis, whilst giving implications for future research and policy, that are considered to be important and relevant to develop academia, practice, and policies surrounding hate crimes, especially those motivated by racial and religious-bias. In this chapter, some key suggestions for hate crime literature, practice, and policy are given, in reflection of all the factors, perceptions, and conceptualisations of race and religious hate crimes, found through empirical research in this thesis. The importance of the latter point is considered in light of long-standing limitations in the field hate crimes (e.g. under-reporting, intergroup prejudice), and suggestions are provided to overcome these issues, to develop reporting, recording, and understanding of hate crimes.

PART ONE

SECTION A: BACKGROUND

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Hate Crime

1.11 Philosophy and Conceptualisation of hate crimes

Hate crime has become a highly salient term in academic, social, and political discourse in the last two decades (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Garland, 2012; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2019 McKay, Lindquist & Misra, 2019), and has become a major concern for academics, policy-makers, policing, and legal sectors (Burnett, 2013; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Chakraborti & Garland, 2015). The emergence of the notion of specific crimes being hate crime, was primarily driven by the MacPherson report (Macpherson, 1999), following the racially motivated murder of Stephen Lawrence (Foster, Newburn & Souhami, 2005; Ray & Smith, 2001), and the bombing campaign of David Copeland in London (Chakraborti, 2010). The McPherson report on the murder of Stephen Lawrence revealed institutional racism, following the poor handling of the case by the CPS and the police, and suggested methods to ensure future investigations aptly dealt with racial violence (Athwal, Bourne & Wood, 2010; Macpherson, 1999; Phillips, 2011; Pilkington, 2008). The nail bombing attack against Black, Asian, and gay Londoners by David Copeland, was similarly motivated by hate towards these named communities. Thus these two cases highlighted the need to monitor crimes motivated by the bias of the perpetrator as hate crimes.

Hate crimes are commonly understood as criminal activity directed towards groups of people, who are perceived to be socially stigmatised, and given an outsider status e.g. ethnic minorities, immigrants, refugees, homosexuals (Craig, 2002; Gladfelter, Lantz & Ruback, 2017, 2017; Hall, 2013; Mason-Bish & Zempi, 2019; Perry, 2001). Therefore, an offender does not need to have overt ‘hate’ towards the victim to denote a ‘hate crime’ (Walters, 2011). Hence, these crimes pose a major challenge to societies, as psychological and cultural differences between individuals and groups, can have a negative impact on socialisation and

social relations (e.g. social conflict, tensions), both between and within groups (Brax & Munthe, 2015; Chakraborti, 2018). The interpretation of these crimes are thus demographically and psychologically bound, in that they are dependent on the context in which they occur, and there are individual differences in attributing underlying assumptions of prejudice to the defendant/perpetrator (Craig & Waldo, 1996; Sherry, 2000). Hate crimes do not exist in a vacuum (Chakraborti, 2014), but are a reflection and consequence of social context and underlying assumptions, in addition to conceptual and evaluative frameworks (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Herek, 2009). These crimes are argued to be a social construct (Chakraborti, 2015), entailing various interpretations and reactions from victims and perpetrators (see. Jacobs & Henry, 1995; Jenness & Grattet, 2001; Lyons, 2008). Thus, hate crime has become an important concept, both politically and socially, across different disciplines, communities, and borders (Chakraborti, 2015).

It is important to identity what hate crimes entail and how they are different from parallel-crimes (i.e. criminal events without hate or bias motivation). Hate crimes destabilise social cohesion, and are a concept saturated with ambiguity and disagreement (Boyd, Berk & Hamner, 1996; Goodall, 2013). The lack of consensus in what hate crimes entail, and variances in operational definitions from nation to nation, presents a major problem to hate crime research and practice (Garland, 2012; Garland & Chakraborti, 2012; Mason, 2012). In Germany and Russia, *'hate'* has to be identified as the primary motive for a crime to be noted as a hate crime, whilst Sweden includes *'fear'* as a motivating factor to intimidate victims and their group (see. Glet, 2009; Klingspor, 2008; McClintock, 2005). Interestingly, Sweden does not recognise the victimisation of an individual from a majority group as a victim of hate crime if they are victimised by a member of a minority group (Klingspor, 2008). At the same time, it is deemed that there is no hate crime, if there is intergroup conflict between two minority groups, thus supporting Perry's contextualisation of hate crime, which is dependent on unidirectional offending from the majority to the minority. Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR; 2010) notes the changes in the Criminal Codes of Lithuania and Slovakia, where Slovakia emphasised national, racial, and ethnic hatred, to funnel its legislative focus to race, ethnicity, and religion, whilst Slovakia focussed a broader approach including categories such as language, views, social status, and conviction. In sum, monitoring of hate crime statistics is varied across the EU members, with different categories for hate crimes for different states with some focussing on 'anti-Semitic' (e.g. Austria, Czech

Republic, Germany, Italy, and Sweden), whilst others have specific categories for anti-Muslim hate (e.g. Austria and Sweden), and 'anti-Roma' victimisation (e.g. Sweden).

One conceptual framework of hate crime is focussed on the prominent features that best explains these crimes (Chakraborti, 2017; Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Herek, 2009), such as the hate motivations of the perpetrators that differentiate hate crimes from parallel crimes, and unearthing the causal explanation between these criminal behaviours. Another framework focuses on the legal and moral aspect of hate crimes and is focussed on the punishment of these crimes (Franklin, 2002; Jenness & Grattet, 2001; Abrahamson, Craighead & Abrahamson, 1994; Dharmapala & Garoupa, 2004). The two divergent focuses, with their disagreements on the important aspects of hate crimes, present obstacles to the development of an all-encompassing hate crime strategy (see. Chakraborti, 2010). Furthermore, meaningful discussions between academics, legal arenas, and policy-makers are constrained by the incongruity between different countries and authorities in what aspects denote hate crimes (e.g. some jurisdictions include class and age, whilst others focus on race, religion, and sexual orientation; see. Gerstenfeld, 1992). However, the conventional frameworks mentioned above are limited in understanding hate crimes when considering how the perpetrators, and the victims, construct such incidents (Chakraborti, 2015; Iganski, 2008; McDevitt, Levin, Nolan & Bennett, 2010).

Different perspectives have been offered to explain the purpose and underlying motives of hate crimes. Some researchers see hate crimes as symbolic acts directed towards people who are watching (Awan & Zempi, 2016; Berk, Boyd & Hamner, 1992; Gerstenfeld & Grant, 2004), whilst others hold that the real or perceived status of the victim becomes target of the perpetrators bias (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Craig, 2002; Green, McFalls & Smith, 2001; Hall, 2013; Salter & McGuire, 2015). In support, Walters (2011) extends that the victim's identity instils prejudice and bias in the perpetrator, thus the perception of the victim's identity as *'different'*, is key contributor to hate crimes. Therefore, bias and prejudice towards a victim, is suggested to be equally important as hate (although hate is argued to be a synonym of prejudice; see. Jacobs & Potter, 1998) in these crimes (McDevitt et al., 2010; Walters, 2011), and moving away from *'hate'* as the only parameter of hate crimes, will aid fuller monitoring and recording of these crimes (Hall, 2005).

Additionally, structural hierarchies are important in society in terms of hate crimes, with low power groups experiencing greater levels of hate-motivated violence and injustice, as they are marginalised and stigmatised in society (Wolfe & Copeland, 1994). For Perry (2001), 'hate crime involves acts of violence and intimidation, usually directed towards already stigmatised and marginalised groups. As such, it is a mechanism of power and oppression, intended to reaffirm the precarious hierarchies that characterise a given social order. It attempts to re-create simultaneously the threatened (real or imagined) hegemony of the perpetrator's group and the 'appropriate' subordinate identity of the victim's group' (p. 10). Therefore, for Perry (2001), hate crimes are based on power dynamics, and assumed to be predominantly about the victimisation of minority groups by majority groups, through the *'Us vs. Them'* differentiation. Gerstenfeld (2013) advocates that hate crimes are an attack on the victim's social group rather than on the individuals themselves. The *'ripple effect'* of these crimes (see. Noelle, 2002) mean that the message diffused to the wider community warns, intimidates, and denigrates, groups and communities, thus reiterating their subordinate status and limited rights (Perry, 2001). However, this definition cannot account for conflict between two minority groups where the victim-perpetrator roles are interchangeable (see. Walters and Hoyle, 2012), nor can it explain the reciprocal violence from a 'subordinate' group directed towards those in a privileged position. Despite all, hate crimes are an attack on the core identity of the victim and their group due to the group's perceived difference (Iganski, 2001). Consequently, victims of hate crimes come to be perceive their victimisation as unavoidable, thus normalising the hate incidents and harassment exerted upon them (Craig, 2002; Nolan & Akiyama, 2002).

1.12 Hate Crime Policy

Hate crime policies assert that certain groups are marginalised by those in more powerful positions (stratification of these crimes; Hall, 2013; Perry, 2001). However, group marginalisation is dependent on recognising groups that are experiencing injustice. Groups with greater resources, powerful voices, and social support, are able to lobby harder to express their victimisation compared to individual claims, thus hate crimes towards minority groups can go unnoticed and unchallenged, due to absence of policy recognition (Chakraborti, 2015). Moreover, groups seen as undesirable and criminogenic (e.g. sex

workers, homeless, immigrants, and refugees) may not receive support post-victimisation, as they are excluded from hate crime policies (Chakraborti, 2015). Chakraborti argues that excluded groups should be included in hate crime policies as they are most 'at risk', therefore the policies need to consider all potential victims of hate (including bias and prejudice), rather than having a narrow focus on selected groups.

A normative approach (i.e. which social events should be considered harmful; Pemberton, 2007) to hate crime policy warrants agreement on the values and ideals that would be sufficient to understand how to view and respond to these crimes (see. Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Lawrence, 1994). For this approach, not only should the stratification of these crimes be considered in policy making, but also the legal implications that these crimes would have for the penalty imposed upon the perpetrators. Thus, the legal and moral framework in the conceptualisation of hate crimes, and subsequent policy, is argued to be important (Hurd, 2001; Hodge, 2005). These frameworks relate to information of crimes and whether enhanced sentencing for perpetrators of hate crime is justified. Policies need to consider the level of criminal sentence that should be given to perpetrators based on the level of harm inflicted to the victim. However, Chakraborti (2010; 2015; 2018) asserts that the term 'hate' diverts the focus of attention from the actual intentions of the perpetrator, where it is the victim's real or perceived vulnerability that leads to their victimisation, rather than long-standing hate.

Due to this narrow focus of hate crime policies, many aspects about hate crimes are under-explored and unknown, which has significant implications for 'real-life' value of hate crime victimisation, perpetration, and policy (Chakraborti, 2015). For example, crimes committed against less visible groups (e.g. homeless), or not to treat misogyny as hate crime, impacts on the boundaries and conceptualisations of hate crime policies, and so, may not be recognised by the criminal justice system agencies and non-governmental agencies. Therefore, the official data only show the tip of the iceberg, and so, many hate crimes and their impact on victims is unknown (Herek, 2009; Jenness, 2017; Trout, 2015). Consequently, collecting information of different types of hate crimes will increase awareness of what features are most pertinent to a given hate crime e.g. the use of racial insults in race hate crimes. In this way, specific features seen in incidence of different hate crimes can guide the development of

specific policies that incorporate the core features. Thus, the frameworks and constructions used in current hate crime policies are ambiguous, as they do not incorporate experiences and motivations of all different facets of hate (Chakraborti, 2015). However, it is argued that despite the problems of a universal definition and agreed conceptualisation of hate crimes, there is sufficient understanding of hate crimes to permit a response to hate crimes (Chakraborti, 2015). Yet, further conceptual clarity on the victims and perpetrators of hate crimes, would assist in effectively formulating hate crime policies, in turn dealing with hate crimes (Chakraborti, 2012).

1.13 Hate Crime Statistics

Hate Crime Statistics Act (HCSA, 1990 as cited in Nolan & Akiyama, 2002) exemplified the need to monitor and record these crimes (Ahmed, 2001; Hall, 2013). The HCSA operated as a social pact between mainstream and minority groups, paving some way to signify the institutional acceptance of the existence of hate crimes (Moran, 2004). The HCSA had both practical and legal benefits, such as increasing public awareness and understanding of hate crimes, providing a baseline for research and the development of hate crime legislation, and its effectiveness in combating hate crimes in the communities (e.g. Nolan, Akiyama & Berhanu, 2002). HCSA provided clarification of hate crimes to assist police officers and law enforcement in identifying, investigating, and recording hate crimes more accurately, to foster better working relationship between law enforcement and local communities (Leung, 2018).

In the UK, a ‘five strand’ (with race, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability, as the five protected groups) approach is employed by the College of Policing (2014). The Home Office has stipulated a more victim-centred approach, therefore the officers attending an incident are compelled to record any incident as hate crime, if the victim or any other person perceives the act to be motivated by prejudice or hate (College of Policing, 2014). The recording of hate incidents has been classed into three categories; hate motivation, hate incident, and hate event. Hate events involve physical injury to the victim, whereas hate motivation and hate incidents are forms of perpetration not discernible with victim injury, but may involve intimidation and harassment e.g. racial insults, slurs, etc.

Although, both prejudice and hate are included in hate crime guidelines, the terms are ill-defined, and therefore are ineffective in instructing police officers how to interpret different manifestations of prejudice, especially those that are 'more expansive' (Chakraborti, 2009, p. 122). Additionally, the policy is limited to protecting only those groups in the 'five-strand' approach, thus denoting that some victims are more important than others (Chakraborti, 2009).

Nonetheless, The Home Office Bulletin records all hate crimes against protected groups that come to the attention of the police, however numerous crimes motivated by hate towards other characteristics (e.g. age, gender, etc.) are missed, or not recorded (Home Office Bulletin, 2017). Furthermore, not all hate crimes are reported to the police, and so crimes are under-represented in police statistics. Crime Survey England and Wales (CSEW), alongside police recorded crime data, is an invaluable source of information about the nature and extent of crimes in the UK. CSEW asks the public to discuss their experiences of crime in the last 12 months, especially those that are not reported to, or not recorded by the police. National reporting on hate crimes are plagued with inaccuracies and missing reports (Nolan, Haas, Turley, Stump & LaValle, 2015), partly because of communication breakdown when victims do not report their victimisation (Cronin, McDevitt, Farrell & Nolan, 2007; Harlow, 2005; Balboni & McDevitt, 2001). Despite being at greater risk of repeated victimisation, it is noted that over 50% of hate crimes victims do not report to their victimisation (Farrell & Pease, 2014; Harlow, 2005; Langton & Planty, 2011), perhaps because hate crimes become customary part of their everyday life (Harlow, 2005).

However, gauging the prevalence of hate-crime is fought with difficulties. Victims may resist reporting because of "secondary victimisation", a fear of insensitivity and further abuse from the police, or not being believed (Berrill & Herek, 1990; Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003; McDevitt, Balboni, Garcia & Gu, 2001). Distrust of the police can hinder reporting and increase hostilities between authority figures and minority groups (Hall, 2012; Nolan et al., 2002), with negative attitudes towards the police and less respect shown to police on contact, due to prior adversarial encounters (Borrero, 2001; Hinds, 2007). Alternatively, victims from minority groups may be reluctant to report their victimisation because of their inability to detect, and/or communicate their victimisation, due to unawareness of what constitutes hates

crimes, and cultural and language barriers (Anderson, Dyson & Brooks, 2002; Chakraborti, 2015; McDevitt, Levin & Bennett, 2002).

Lack of reporting can also impact officers' experience of dealing with hate crimes, and developing strategies for the identification and classification of these crimes (Cronin et al., 2007). Organisational norms are paramount in individual officer's behaviours, as internal factors (e.g. personal prejudice) and external factors (e.g. departmental norms) influence the detection and recording of hate crimes (Nolan et al., 2015). Departments with greater awareness and dedication to monitoring hate crimes provide resources, and treat victims with precision and care. Conversely, some departments may not engage in strategies to reduce hate crimes as they see it as a burden on officers, thus offer limited time and resources (McDevitt et al., 2002).

To investigate the resistance to reporting of hate crimes, Hardy (2019) analysed different studies on hate crimes conducted between the period of 2012 to 2017 in different locations, funded by different bodies, and across varying time frames. The author proposed a model suggesting that structural, social, situational, and individual barriers may hinder hate crime reporting. Structural barriers reflect the state-level policies, practices, and narratives, whereby cut-down in police officers and economic constraints placed on policing, may mean that some people avoid reporting, as they feel they are unlikely to get a successful outcome. The findings suggest that there may also be social barriers to reporting, in that people's decision to report hate crimes will be influenced by their family, as well as their wider community, as if there is evident of prior negative experience in reporting these crimes, then victimisation will not be reported. Factors such as the location and frequency of victimisation, the relationship between the victims and the perpetrators, and so on, is argued to present situational barriers to reporting, with many people not reporting as they see their victimisation as 'part and parcel' of their everyday existence. Finally, individual barriers in terms of lack of awareness of policies and practices on hate crimes can dictate whether a person conceives their victimisation as a criminal offence. If they do not perceive the incident to be a crime then are less likely to report it. Alternatively, they may understand that a hate crime has been committed against them, however due to the lack of knowledge of practices, they may not know who to report to. All these factors can significantly affect reporting,

whilst limiting a comprehensive understanding of hate crimes, as all incidents of hate crimes do not come to the attention of police, limiting the development of robust strategies based on the manifestations of all experiences of hate crimes in society.

Given the difficulties faced in reporting, different operational definitions of hate crimes, and varied police procedure, the hate crime statistics in England and Wales may appear exaggerated, compared to other EU Countries (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012). In their review of ODIHR reports, Chakraborti and Garland reported significantly greater numbers of hate crimes in England and Wales (52, 102) compared to Germany (2, 583), Czech Republic (265), Italy (142) and Spain (23) in 2009, whilst 3, 960 hate crimes were recorded in France in 2008. However, the difference between the statistics reported in the UK and other EU country, perhaps reflects the UK having a more inconclusive definition and conceptualisation of hate crimes, and is evidence of a more strident step to monitor and record hate-motivated crimes in the UK. This lead Chakraborti and Garland to conclude that the statistics on hate crimes in the UK only represent a 'tip of the iceberg' of the issue that hate crimes present.

1.14 Victims of hate crimes

Hate crimes present a unique form of offending and victimisation (Hall, 2005). All crime incurs 'costs' on the victims (Beaton, Cook, Kavanagh & Herrington, 2000; Langton & Truman, 2014; Waldron, 2012), yet hate crimes have been suggested to inflict greater psychological and emotional harm (Ardley, 2005; Benier, 2017; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Williams & Tregidga, 2014), compared to those crimes that are not motivated by hate (Herek et al., 1999; Leets, 2002; Levin, 1999). Research investigating the effects of hate crimes on victims have reported; (1) greater negative psychological consequences e.g. depression (Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003; Herek, Gillis, Cogan & Glunt, 1997; House, Van Horn, Coppeans & Stepleman, 2011; Perry, 2001); (2) adverse emotional reactions e.g. nervousness, anger, despair, fear (Abu-Ras & Squarez, 2009; Brown & Walter, 2016; Bell & Perry, 2015; Walters & Paterson, 2015); (3) physical symptoms e.g. difficulties in sleeping, weakness, substance use (Orth, Montada & Maercker, 2006; Waldron, 2012; Williams & Tregidga, 2014), and; (4) interpersonal problems e.g. lack of trust in others, increased fear or repeated victimisation (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Spalek, 2010; Willis, 2004).

These experiences can lead to forced behavioural changes (Craig-Henderson, 2009; Herek, Gillis & Cogan, 1999), thus negatively impacting on the victims confidence in the community and with other people (Ardley, 2005).

Greater impact of hate crimes upon the victims is attributed to 'qualitatively distinct' nature of victimisation, compared to parallel crimes, e.g. crimes such as arson, homicide, and so on, committed without an underlying hate motivation (Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003, p. 482). The difference or 'Otherness' of the victim (Perry, 2001) means some people are perceived as 'easy' and 'soft' targets (Kidd & Witten, 2008). Individuals seen as an 'Other', are perceived to be different and not belonging, due to their personal or group characteristics. Therefore they are derogated and marginalised, as well as being subjected to a subordinate status, as they are seen as less powerful to the dominant group. This view can be partly attributed to such individuals being more likely to be in jobs that provide situations for such victimisation (e.g. taxi drivers, bus drivers, working in impoverished areas), or working in the night in the absence of surveillance (see. Athwal et al., 2010). These targets do not report their victimisation for reasons discussed, or for the fear of being deported if living in England illegally (see. Anderson et al., 2002; McDonald & Erez, 2007). The heightened effect of hate victimisation is reported to be a consequence of the message-driven prophecy of hate crimes, whereby the victimisation of one person *of a particular out-group* intimidates, aggravates, and maintains long-standing tensions between groups and communities (Benier, 2017; Kaupinnen, 2015; Perry & Alvi, 2012).

Hate crimes are typically enacted close to the victim's home or in their immediate neighbourhood (Bowling, 1993; Brimicombe, Ralphs, Sampson & Tsui, 2001; Harlow, 2005; McDevitt at al., 2001; Roberts, Innes, Williams, Tregidga & Gadd, 2013; Strom, 2001), with 70% to 90% of hate crimes perpetrated outside the victim's home (Bowling, 1993 Harlow, 2005; Mason, 2005; Strom, 2001). Attacks in such locations compel victims to move from this space, altering their everyday lifestyle (e.g. avoid going out at certain times), and avoiding symbolic dress and accessories that marks them as 'different' (Barnes and Ephross, 1994; Dreher, 2006; Poynting, 2002; Poynting and Noble, 2004). Furthermore, Perry (2015) notes that victims may never enter or re-enter these spaces from the fear of victimisation, staying confined to areas that they deem to be safe. In support, Iganski and Lagou (2015)

reported victims of racial hate crimes become less trusting of other people and avoid certain areas post-victimisation. Victims may also engage in social isolation to avoid being labelled a member of the despised group, thus reducing feelings of insecurity (Williams & Tregidga, 2014). However using social isolation as a coping mechanism increases the risk of further psychological and emotional symptoms e.g. depression, alienation (Benier, 2017; Iganski & Lagou, 2015).

Not all victims' experience hate crimes in the same way, as some victims report lower emotional reactions compared to victims of parallel crimes (Iganski & Lagou, 2015). Violent hate crimes inflict more pronounced physical injury and harm, whilst leaving the victim feeling vulnerable for a long time after the crime (Brand & Price, 2000). McDevitt et al. (2001) argued that there are no significant differences in behavioural reactions of victims of hate crimes and non-hate crimes. Both the groups of victims were noted to be less visible post-victimisation, yet hate crimes victims showed problems in dealing with their victimisation.

In sum, victimisation can have physical, emotional, and behavioural consequences for the victims **and** their wider social and community groups (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, Iganski, 2001; Iganski & Lagou, 2015). The victims of hate crimes can be forced to alter their behaviour, avoid certain routes and/or areas, or engage in social isolation as a method to overcome the impact of their victimisation (Benier, 2017). Victims of religious hate crimes may resist wearing their religious or ethnic dress that visualises their religious identity, thus making them less susceptible to re-victimisation. Therefore, initial victimisation motivated by the perceived difference of the victim can leave them vulnerable for a long time, especially if the crime involves violence (Westbrook, 2008).

1.15 Perpetrators of hate crimes

Research into hate crimes has predominantly focussed on hate crime victims (see. Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Funnell, 2015), and providing them a voice (Chakraborti & Garland, 2015). This has led to less attention on the offenders/perpetrator

(Dunbar, Quinones & Crevecoeur, 2005; Perry, 2003). The identification of these offenders is important as hate crimes are not normally committed for monetary gain (e.g. robbery) or motivated by revenge-type aggression (Sullaway, 2004). Therefore, knowledge of the risk of recidivistic violence is low, and needs to be established, to determine the level of threat perpetrators pose (Dunbar et al., 2005). Moreover, Boeckmann and Turpin-Petrosino (2002) argued that it is important to understand reasons and motivations for a perpetrators involvement in hate crime groups, to better understand the motives behind their engagement in hate crimes, and to provide insight into how to change these perspectives, motives, and understandings.

One series of studies which have tried to understand the reasons for perpetrators involvement in hate crime groups, interviewed police officials, victims, and hate crime offenders. It was concluded that hate crime offenders can be grouped into four categories of *thrill-seekers*, *defensive offenders*, *retaliatory offender*, and *mission offenders* (Levin & McDevitt, 1993; McDevitt et al., 2002). Although, the underlying premise of all hate crimes is bigotry towards the offender (Levin & McDevitt, 1993), the offender typology argues that each category varies, both psychological and environmentally. McDevitt et al. (2002) argue that *thrill-seekers* are motivated by their need for excitement and power; *defensive* hate crimes are provoked by feeling threatened and the need to protect resources; *retaliatory* offenders engage in offending behaviour to revenge a perceived degradation or an assault on the group, whilst *mission* offenders view themselves as crusaders, who have far-right leaning tendency, and who have a mission to cleanse society of evil.

On a related note, Chakraborti & Garland (2015) claim that *thrill-seeking*, *defensive*, and *retaliatory* offenders, perpetrate much of the hate crimes evident in society, with the large proportion committed by thrill or excitement seeking offenders (Byers & Crider, 2002; McDevitt et al. 2002). Literature into hate crime offending has suggested that hate crimes are committed by youth (Craig, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002; Perry, 2001), often from socially deprived or marginalised areas (Ray & Smith, 2001), with low income and economic status (Ray & Smith, 2004). However, Chakraborti and Garland (2015) warn that hate crimes should not be considered as '*wanton*' crimes committed by bored fun-seeking youths, for they exhibit negative attitudes and stereotypes towards the victims they target.

For Perry (2001), the expression of hate can merely be despising minority members, hence the victim are unknown or '*stranger*' perpetrators (Lawrence, 1999). McDevitt et al. (2002) found 85% of hate crimes are committed by perpetrators who were unknown to the victim, which Berrill (1990) concurs with in reporting that approximately 60% of victims of homophobic hate crimes did not know their perpetrator. Thus, hate crimes had earlier been conceptualised to involve 'stranger-danger' (Mason, 2005). However, Stanko et al. (2003 as cited in Mason, 2005) reported that only in 10.2 per cent of racist incidents is the perpetrator a stranger to the victim. 'Neighbours' (18.4 percent), 'locals/local youths (8.2 per cent), 'school children' (18.4 per cent) and 'colleagues/customers' (14.3 per cent) make up the majority of the perpetrators' (p. 15). Mason (2005) argues that it is virtually impossible for hate crime victims and perpetrators to remain strangers, as their daily encounter and interpersonal dealings on day-to-day basis, means there is physical proximity between them. Hence, the image of the 'stranger-danger' is being challenged for rather than the perpetrator and victim being unknown to each other, there is regular contact between the two.

Contrary to the assumption that hate crimes are perpetrated by powerful groups towards the powerless individuals and groups, one study noted contradictory findings (Ray & Smith, 2001). In this study on racist offenders in Greater Manchester, UK, the authors suggested that the offenders expressed feeling victimised and powerless (perhaps due to economic strain). They concluded that this self-construction (i.e. the offender/perpetrator constructing themselves as victims) is important because violent offenders are scrutinised as disorderly and psychological unwell, however their behaviour may be a consequence of wider social pressures (Ray & Smith, 2001). Thus, the misleading stereotypes perhaps lead to a sense of persecution and victimisation by the perpetrator who cannot escape from the label. Even when they display positive behaviour, individuals who are recognised as a perpetrator are stereotyped in the way described above, and so they feel segregated and victimised by the society at large.

To sum up, in the majority of cases, hate crime offenders are understood to commit crimes by their motivation to seek 'thrill' or 'excitement'. Even then, the hate motivation of the

perpetrator is not irrelevant, as the selection of the victim is based on the bias towards the victim's actual or perceived membership of a despised or a minority group. Research into hate crimes have often concluded that there is no relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, thus arguing 'stranger-danger' in hate crimes. However, other research has contradicted the 'stranger-danger' account by indicating interpersonal contact between the victim and the offender. Also, there is the construction of the offender as 'powerless', as some people within the majority group feel greater levels of frustration due to contextual strain e.g. economic strain (Walters (2011). Yet Walters argues that only those people with low self-control and a marked intolerance of others are more likely to commit hate crimes.

1.16 Policing Hate Crimes

Hate crime research in the UK has been limited by not reaching 'real' victims of these crimes (Chakraborti, 2015), consequently research on policing hate crimes in the UK is also rare (Chakraborti & Garland, 2012). Yet, having this type of information is pivotal in reducing hate crime. Hate crime laws are only beneficial when the policing is successful in enforcing these laws (Boyd et al., 1996), however it is important to understand the problems that are encountered by the police (Woods, 2011). Hate crime policing is influenced by institutional and individual factors. In reference to primary institutional reasons, hate crime policing is affected by; (1) official policing strategies; (2) police structure; (3) hate crime policies and procedures; (4) police agenda priorities; (5) police culture, and; (6) community resistance (Bowling, 1999; Ray and Smith, 2004; Hall, 2005; Iganski, 2007, 2008; Chakraborti & Garland, 2009). In terms of individual factors (individual police officers) influencing policing of hate crimes include; (1) what criteria are used when identifying hateful motives; (2) the willingness to enforce hate crime laws, and; (3) adequacy of training to deal with such cases (Maynard & Read, 1997; Bowling, 1999; Macpherson, 1999; Gerstenfeld, 2013; Hall, 2005), will play a role.

Police departments play a key role in the treatment of hate crimes, not only by hate crime legislations, but also collecting statistics and information of any hate crime (Gerstenfeld, 2013). They are the primary source of liaison between victims, different communities and groups, and the legal system. However, evidence suggests that police officers are reluctant to

enforce hate crime laws and legislation (Hall, 2013; 2012; Johnson, 2003), perhaps due to it necessitating a shift in perspective in seeing minority ethnic groups as victims, rather than perpetrators (Hall, 2013). Conversely, police officers may be dissuaded from labelling an incident a hate crime because it may be difficult to identify the underlying motive. Ineffective policing on hate crime can reduce confidence and generate negative perceptions towards the police and law enforcement (Hall, 2005; 2013; Herek, 1989; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; Kuehnle & Sullivan, 2001), while signifying institutional racism i.e. racial discrimination, established as normal behaviour in a society or an organisation (Johnson, 2003). The perceptions that police are unreliable, ineffective, and untrustworthy, can further lead to victims not reporting their victimisation (Hall, 2013; Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins & Ring, 2005; Rowe, 2012).

In an attempt to overcome the low levels of trust amongst hate crime victims, law enforcement agencies has set up special units, dedicated phone lines to monitor and record hate crimes, and have initiated training to improve understanding of these crimes (Grattet & Jenness, 2005; Mulcahy, 2008). McDevitt et al. (2000) conducted a questionnaire on 2,657 law enforcement agencies to assess their views on factors that impede or encourage hate crime reporting. The found that 37.5% of the agencies had hate crime policies, with special unit comprising one to five officers; yet 67% reported having less than two hours of training on hate crimes. Gerstenfeld (2013) argues that the few hours of hate crime training, or setting-up of multiple police teams and units for hate crimes will not achieve the results, as basic training cannot address the complexities of hate crimes.

Thus, is it recognised that policing of hate crimes needs to be comprehensive (looking at offender/perpetrator, victims, police, and the community), to be effective. Hate crime needs to be part of every policing policy, where there is an active encouragement and support of its reporting, identification, and, investigation (McDevitt et al. 2000). If the policing policy has step-by-step procedures for the investigation of hate crimes, then it will improve the working relations between the police investigating hate crimes, and communities who are the most targeted recipients of such violence (Giannasi, 2015).

1.2 Theories of intergroup relations and conflict

The notion of hate crime makes one basic fundamental claim about the character of this act, that the motive of the action is to be understood as grounded in negative interpretations, stereotypes, and importantly, prejudice towards the victim (Salter & McGuire, 2015; Wickes, Pickering, Mason, Maher, & McCulloch, 2016). Prejudice has been one of the key topics explored by psychology with numerous theory offers (Nelson, 2009; Stangor, 2009; Whitley & Kite, 2016). From this thesis perspective, three key and most recent theories can be used to explore the deeper nature of hate crimes – *social identity approach* (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987*), intergroup threat theory* (Stephan, Ybarra & Rios Morrison, 2009) and *social dominance theory* (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Pratto, Sidanius & Levin, 2006). Before discussing these, the basic nature of prejudice will be outlined, as forms the foundation of all the three theories, explaining behaviours such as in-group bias, out-group derogation, and negative appraisal of out-group based on faulty cognitions, to maintain in-group self-esteem, positive distinctiveness, and social dominance in society. Thereafter, the key concepts of prejudice will be critically evaluated in discussing the three theories mentioned above.

1.21 Nature of Prejudice

One of the key concepts underlying all of the three theories mentioned above is prejudice. Prejudice, stereotyping, and its consequential expressions of discrimination, are an enduring and widespread social problem (Allport, 1954; Choma, Jagayat, Sumantry & Asrani, 2015; Stangor, 2009; Whitley & Kite, 2016), and a feature of human interaction (Brewer, 1999; Pinker, 2011). Prejudice is a significant problem, and combined with the dehumanisation of an out-group (Hogg & Vaughan, 2011), it becomes potential for very serious problems, as events such as genocide has revealed (Kuper, 2017; Lauren, 2018). Many definitions of prejudice have been proposed in an effort to understand how it is developed, maintained, and becomes a driving force for derogation and discrimination (Allport 1954; 1962; 1979; Brewer, 1999; Brown; 2011; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson & Howard, 1997; Eagly, 2004; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Nelson & Pang, 2006). The myriad of definitions has led to the agreement amongst social scientists and social psychologists, that prejudice and stereotypes have a social component orientation, towards a groups or an individual based on their group membership. The latter point is key to the three theories discussed later, as each

theory is based on the prejudicial attitudes and negative evaluation of an out-group, leading to intergroup stereotype, anxiety, and aggression. Furthermore, research into prejudice has concurred that; (1) prejudice occurs between groups, (2) involves a positive or negative assessment of a group, (3) contains a biased perception of a group, and (4) is based on real or perceived schemas about a group (Brewer, 2007; Kahn, Barreto, Kaiser & Rego, 2016; Molina, Tropp & Goode, 2016; Nelson, 2009). The assessment of an out-group as negative can increase the self-esteem and self-concept of in-group members, as the in-group is invariably seen as more positive and enhanced compared to respective out-groups. These attitudes can also render the out-group as less worthy, and so the dominant in-group maintain control within society, and enjoy preferential treatment.

The socio-cultural perspective understands prejudice to be an interpersonal and interactional social event, whereby the in-group is seen favourability, and the out-group evaluated negatively (Dovidio, Glick & Rudman, 2005; Knight, 2015; Nelson, 2009; Saucier, Miller & Doucet, 2005). Allport (1954) concluded that prejudiced attitudes are merely generalisations about a group, thus reflecting a cognitive style. He further noted that prejudice is 'an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he (sic) is a member of that group' (p. 9). This is a common factor in all the three theories used in this thesis to explain hate crimes. The three theories assert that the mere presence of an out-group induces out-group comparison, even when there is no reference on which to base these comparisons. Allport (1954) outlined the five stages that accounted for how severe the outcome of the prejudice will be; (1) Antilocution, (2) Avoidance, (3) Discrimination (4) Physical attack, and (5) Extermination. Antilocution is derogatory talk or expressing hateful opinions. Avoidance is the exclusion of certain groups or its members. Over time, social negativity towards an excluded group results in discrimination - defined as differential interpersonal treatment by individuals towards some groups and its members, relatively to other groups and their members (Burnstein, Sacco, Young, Hugenberg & Cook, 2010; Hutchinson, Abrams & Christian, 2007). Typically, social negativity is unjust or prejudicial treatment (see Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2011; Hodson & Dhont, 2015; Stangor, 2009) originating from the more dominant, powerful, or larger out-group. Physical attacks are evident when there is a heightened emotional component underlying the prejudice. Finally,

extermination is when the prejudicial attitudes result in lynching, genocides, and ethnic/minority cleansing.

Friedman (2007) and Parens (2007) argue that prejudice is an element of cognitive behaviour, producing judgement without evidence (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Hodson, Dovidio & Gaertner, 2002; Saucier et al., 2005), thus resulting in erroneous supposition. These beliefs maybe 'good' or harmless, but in-groups who hold negative attitudes regarding an out-group or its members, will invariably hold negative views about the out-groups too (Dixon, Levin, Reicher & Durrheim, 2012). According to social dominance theory (SDT), these comparisons are necessary for social dominance especially those one's that favour the in-group, and enhance the gap between the dominant in-group and any other out-groups. Therefore, those in socially elevated positions will engage in behaviours that maintain the social hierarchy of the groups, as the greater the difference between the groups, the greater the privileges experienced by the socially dominant group, at the expense of less stable out-group.

It is these negative attitudes, stereotypes, and prejudice, that can lead to suspicion, hostility, dehumanisation, and murderous treatment of an out-group (Brown, 2002; 2011; Duckitt, 2003; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010; Tropp, 2003). Therefore, prejudice can be argued to be on a continuum (Knight, 2015), from the benign to the malignant form (Friedman, 2007; Parens, 2007). Nonetheless, Pettigrew and colleagues have argued that the prime reason for discrimination is in-group favourability, rather than out-group hate (Brewer, 1999; Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Wagner, Christ, & Pettigrew, 2008). In this respect, the driving force behind prejudice is 'oneness' and sameness with the in-group, achieved through negative evaluations of an out-group (Hollander, 2010). This is central to social identity theory (SIT), which suggests that in-group members are motivated to enhance the self- and social identity, as well as the positive distinctiveness of the group. In this respect, the out-group negativity can be seen as a means to achieve positive distinctiveness of the group, at the same time as enhancing the self-esteem for the individual, rather than overt hate towards an out-group per se. In this respect, 'hate' towards out-groups may be a consequence of the negative appraisal of out-groups, rather than it being a predecessor causing out-group prejudice and discrimination. In support, Brewer (1999) puts forth that in-group preference alone can suggest out-group hate in the absence of hostility towards an out-group. Similarly,

discrimination of an out-group is possible without in-group identification or benefit, though this reflects antagonism and phobia of the Other (Brewer, 1999).

Meanwhile, stereotypes are argued to be schema that one thinks about when referring to a group (Morgan, Joseph & Carley, 2017). Like prejudice, earlier work on stereotypes focussed on them being inflexible and faulty cognitions (Cramer, Goppert & Rosenstiel, 1996; Taylor, 1981), yet more recently stereotypes have been argued to be functional and dynamic thought processes that simplify complex environments (Amodio, 2014; Diekman & Eagly, 2000), as well as facilitating a clearer understanding of these environments (Choma & Hodson, 2008).

Though stereotypes are thought to limit ones understanding by focussing on the negative elements of a group and its members (Dhont, Roets & Van Hiel, 2011), they do supply substantial information of individual and group identity, social role, and the shared characteristics of the group (Dhont et al., 2011). As outlined in SIT, understanding within-group homogeneity and between-group variance is believed to be beneficial because it promotes emotional responses (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; McCoy & Major, 2003). Positive emotional responses lead to social integrity and social cohesion to maintain a congruent society, however negative emotional responses lead to prejudice and discrimination of those perceived as '*different*' and worthy of harmful treatment (Brewer, 1999; Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; McCoy & Major, 2003). On the other hand, discrimination promotes a favourable outlook towards one's own group creating an 'Us vs. Them' ideology, whereby the 'Us' (in-group) is seen as being superior and worthy of special treatment (see Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel, 1976, 1979), compared to the 'Them' (out-group), who present a threat to the in-group's status and well-being. The concept of threat is central to integrated threat theory (ITT), asserting that out-group members present realistic and symbolic threats, affecting the distribution of resources, and the values, customs, and beliefs of the majority group. The 'other' can be understood as despised out-group which has fundamental differences to the in-group, and if these differences are perceived as negative, then according to SIT this leads to greater self-esteem for the in-group. Meanwhile, the fear of the 'other' may suggest a threat experienced at the hands of an unknown outsider, and without sufficient knowledge of the outsider, anxiety around competition may be experienced; a focal point of ITT.

Therefore, prejudice can be viewed as a three-component model; emotional/affective, cognitive, and behavioural. Prejudice can elicit emotional responses based on the negative evaluations of a group. Stereotypes are generalised mental representations about one's own in-group and relative out-group, and discrimination is the behavioural response to prejudiced stereotypes of different out-groups e.g. avoidance, social withdrawal, hostility, victimisation (Barlow et al., 2012; Choma, Jagayat, Hodson & Turner, 2018; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). When individuals and groups respond to the stereotypes they hold towards out-groups, it severely disrupts and stains intergroup relations, for instance, race relations (Molina et al., 2016), as these expressions of prejudice lead to intimidation, violence, and harm to the victims. These actions can have lasting effect on the physical, emotional, and mental well-being on those at the receiving end of such prejudice (Molina et al., 2016; Swim, Scott, Sechrist, Campbell & Stangor, 2003). As outlined above, the notion of prejudice is central to SIT, ITT and SDT, and the three theories are discussed below, drawing on the key offerings of the nature of prejudice.

1.22 Social Identity Approach - Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT)

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) presents an understanding of how people see themselves and other people in the environment (Korte, 2007). SIT is based on an individual's tendency of making biased intergroup comparisons, to achieve and maintain a positive identity, through evaluating positive distinctiveness of the in-group compared to out-groups. Tajfel and Turner (1986) stipulated three basic principles which govern the formation of a positive identity through intergroup differentiation: Firstly, people must subjectively identify with the in-group, secondly, the situations must allow for effective comparisons between one's in-group and relevant out-group, and thirdly, the out-group must be sufficiently comparable. The theory further asserts that when positive distinctiveness of the in-group is not possible, individuals seek other group memberships where there is a better opportunity for intergroup comparison (Brewer & Weber, 1994; Yuki, 2003). Alternatively, negative self-esteem (through the lack of positive distinctiveness of the group) may result in on-going social competition, social mobility behaviours, and cognitive strategies, to re-establish the positive image of the in-group (Trepte & Loy, 2017).

Although, earlier work on intergroup relations was focussed on prejudiced individuals (see. Adorno, Fenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Stanford, 1950), subsequent work acknowledged that individual identities are also derived from interaction between and within groups (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Thus, Tajfel (1970) contended that intergroup discrimination is evident in all aspects of modern societies, and can potentially be initiated by competition. This intergroup conflict can be 'rational' – a genuine competition between groups with different interests, promoting conflict and accompanying attitudes, and 'irrational' – means to release emotional tensions (Coser 1956 as cited in Tajfel, 1970).

In one of the first studies on in-group bias, Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971) in their 'minimal group paradigm' experiment, found that even when there was no information about the groups available, when the two groups had no real distinguishable attribute from one another, and when there was no prior affiliation between the group and the individual, social identity based on these trivial factors can lead to intergroup discrimination. They found that in-group favouritism and out-group derogation was evident, even in the absence of intra-group and inter-group interaction. Therefore, it was argued that pressures to establish group distinctiveness, in this case by allocating more points and money to the in-group compared to the out-group (Brown, 2011), led to discriminative practices.

So SIT argues that intergroup attitudes and behaviours are motivated by an inherent drive to create and maintain positive self-image and distinctive group identity, rendering the in-group as more positive, when compared to an out-group. SIT maintains that there is an obvious status relationship between the in-group and the out-group, with the in-group perceived to be more superior and positive, whilst the out-group is reduced to an undesirable and negative position in society (Castano, Yzerbyt, Bourguignon & Seron, 2002; Klein & Azzi, 2001). The development of positive social identity invokes feelings of superiority of one's own in-group (a person's own group), at the same time as derogating the supposed out-group (groups perceived to be different and not subscribing to views of one's group). So when there is a threat to the groups distinctiveness, either because there are no obvious differentiators between the groups (Brown and Abrams, 1986), or when both the in-group and out-group are

evaluated positively, mild to severe forms of derogatory attitudes are more common i.e. prejudice (see. Brown, 1984). Thus the distinctiveness and superiority of the in-group is not merely a psychological concept, rather it promotes behavioural actions to discriminate against the out-group to maintain social hierarchy and self-esteem of the in-group, leading to in-group bias (Dovidio, Gaertner, Ufkes, Saguy & Pearson, 2016; Levin & Sidanius, 1999). Nonetheless, the intergroup similarity has been challenged in several studies (Brewer & Campbell, 1976; Henderson-King, Henderson-King, Zhermer, Posokhova and Chiker, 1997).

Although, there is a social need for positive distinctiveness, that enhances self-esteem by being a member of certain groups, the process by which individuals become members of certain groups is explained by self-categorisation theory (SCT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner & Onorato, 1999). Turner and Onorato (1999) differentiated between the social and personal identity of individuals, with personal identity being under the control of personological variables determining interpersonal situations, whilst social identity is formed through communication and involvement in group situations. According to SIT, personal identity is the view that people prefer to see themselves positively rather than negatively (Brown, 2011), however this is dependent on how distinct individuals of an in-group see themselves to be, compared to members of an out-group.

Personal identity can be enhanced when individuals join a group who are adjudged as more favourable (i.e. a group which has a greater positive difference than a perceived out-group), as there is a greater source of comparison and out-group derogation. However, when individuals see themselves more as group members (representatives) rather than individuals, the social identity can be more salient than personal identity (Korte, 2007). Ultimately, individuals stereotype themselves to the prototype of the group, whereby there is an inclination to view one's own in-group more favourably compared to out-groups; thus promoting an 'Us vs. Them' ideology. Hence, social identity argues that a process of depersonalisation takes place, ''whereby people come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities'' (Roccas and Brewer 2002, p. 50). One fundamental difference between SIT and SCT is their prediction of the role that personal and social identity processes play in explaining individual behaviour. Whilst SIT suggests the influence of interpersonal and intergroup behaviour to exist on a

continuum, SCT theorises that personal and social identity processes may be working simultaneously, to enhance the positive distinctiveness of the groups, at the same time as increasing personal self-esteem by being a member that group (Trepte & Loy, 2017).

Furthermore, SCT argues that interpersonal and intergroup dynamics are not on the opposite ends of the spectrum, rather identity exists on three levels of inclusiveness ('I' given to personal self, 'we' given to social self in relation to salient out-groups, and 'we humans', where the salient out-group is animals or non-humans) that is pivotal to self-concept. Accordingly, categorisation into groups can become a guide to make appropriate sense of the social world. Therefore, social identity refers to the 'aspects of an individual's self-image that derives from the social categories to which he (sic) perceives himself belonging' (Tajfel and Turner, 1986, p. 16). Tajfel (1969) claimed societies are shaped by social influences, where the presupposed attitudes, interests, motives, actions, and attributes of people and their relative group, are structured in categorisations of various in-groups and out-groups.

However, individuals cannot just join any group, as self-categorisation is dependent on the accessibility of the group for the individual, and the group evaluating the individual's readiness and fit to join the group (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Upon successful categorisation, the individual becomes a group member and constructs the meaning of this social identity, whilst adopting the social-cognitive schema (norms, values, and beliefs) for their group-related behaviour. As group members, individuals may endorse and take on more extreme positions, than they would personally, which may be a consequence of the cognitive and behavioural norms, values, and beliefs of the in-group, and outlook towards out-groups. The development of a social identity does not lead to the loss of personal identity, rather it reflects an acquirement of an additional identity, which is argued to be stronger and more dominant, than individual identity (Hogg & McGarty, 1990).

Nonetheless, the assumption that members of the in-group who identify with the group strongly (i.e. stronger self-categorisation), would exhibit a greater level of in-group bias and out-group prejudice, is not consistently supported (see. Brewer, 1979; Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade & Williams, 1986; Effron & Knowles, 2015; Hewstone, Rubin & Willis,

2002; Leach et al., 2008). So Brown (2011) concludes that the relationship between group identification and out-group prejudice is ambiguous given the many inconsistencies reported by experimental findings. Thus, several studies have focussed on the relationship between personal and social identity, and how they interact and lead to radical behaviours (Gomez & Vazquez, 2015; Swann, Jetten, Gomez, Whitehouse & Bastian, 2012). For instance, Swann, at al. (2012) suggest the notion of identity fusion, where an intuitive oneness with the group leads to extreme behaviours in favour of the group. Identification as proposed by SIT is different to fusion, in that with fusion individual's 'retain agentic personal self' (Swann & Buhrmester , 2015, p. 53). However, Jenkins (2004) argues that social identity is a dynamic process, rather than an entity, therefore it helps in understanding the complex nature of social interactions between members and their in-group, and between the individuals and their out-groups. In this way, social identity is argued to be a result of the situational factors, and the strength and effectiveness of internal and external categorisation between the groups.

To summarise, whilst SIT is effective in explaining how in-group bias and out-group prejudice is created and maintained through intergroup comparisons (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), it does not hold true in all situations that do not facilitate such comparisons (Hornsey, 2008), or in instances where these comparisons are relatively benign (Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2011). Being aware that discrimination may be an attempt to raise ones self-esteem (Abrams & Hogg, 1988), and develop a positive self-concept is useful, but should not be an assumption blindly accepted. Abrams and Hogg (1990) argue that low self-esteem precedes discrimination. Subsequently, it could be that individuals from low-status or stigmatised group use this awareness to raise the group' self-esteem. Group membership and identification have been argued to be linked to bias and prejudice (Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2011). However inconsistencies in findings do not always support the assumption that stronger group identification will lead to in-group favouritism (Brewer, 1999). Notwithstanding the limitations of SIT (for full review, see. Brown, 2002; Hornsey, 2008), the theory offers explanations for stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination, and an appreciation of a need for positive self and social identity.

1.23 Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT)

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) argued that two components, i.e. intergroup threat and negative stereotypes, are the basis of discrimination and prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1992, 2000). Intergroup anxiety is the apprehension, uneasiness, and uncertainty of interacting with an out-group for fear of being exploited (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Plant and Devine, 2003). In contrast, negative stereotypes arise from the characteristics associated with the out-group (e.g. aggressiveness), which in turn generate the perception of threat. These two components are seen to cause threat perceptions, and the theory advocates two basic types of threats that individuals and groups can experience – realistic threat and symbolic threat. Realist threat refers to physical harm and threats to the wellbeing of in-group members and/or loss to resources (e.g. pain, torture, death, financial disadvantage and loss of resources; Stephan & Renfro, 2002), whilst symbolic threat is understood as an attack on the integrity or validity of a group meaning systems e.g. religion, ideology, and worldview (Atwell, Ma, Chien & Mastro, 2018; Stephan et al., 2009).

The theory proposes that intergroup relations and perceptions are increasingly important in assessing group superiority and power which leads to threat. The power dynamics between groups mean that those in positions of high power are more likely to experience threat from low power group (Stephan & Renfro, 2002), resulting in the high power group perceiving themselves to be highly threatened and vulnerable. Threat perceptions are heightened in both groups when they are deemed relatively equal in power (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001; Zarate, Garcia, Garza and Hitlan, 2004), but group size is also a determinant of perceived threat. Additionally, if the two groups also have a history of violence, then realistic threats are activated as the out-group is supposed to be in a position to compete for resources and harm the in-group (Stephen et al., 2009). Moreover, individuals and groups are highly threatened by groups or cultures that are different to one's own (Zarate et al., 2004). For instance, minority groups experience symbolic threat from wanting to maintain their own values and beliefs, whilst understanding the need to accept the existing culture and integrate with society (Crisp, Stone, & Hall, 2006).

Additionally, ITT supposes that situational factors and interactions between people can influence perceptions of threat (Aberson, 2015; Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns & Hughes, 2009). In unfamiliar and uncertain situations, lower power groups will perceive increased threat, especially when they sense lack of support from authority (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Chasteen (2005) argues that unfamiliarity with an out-group breeds contempt and makes groups more susceptible to experiencing threat. However, Voci and Hewstone (2003) argue that members who have more contact with out-groups experience less threat from out-groups because of out-group familiarity. Therefore, positive intergroup contact facilitate positive outlook towards groups that are different from one's own, and support more social cohesion. In environments that have diverse population, these positive contacts can be beneficial in reducing intergroup threat, hostility, and violence.

Nonetheless, individual differences and level of group affiliation is considered to contribute to the experience of intergroup threat (Morrison, Fast & Ybarra, 2009; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). For instance, ITT contends that personal and group self-esteem can influence threat perceptions. Individuals with low self-esteem perceive more threats compared to those with high self-esteem, possibly due to not having the confidence to deal with threats (Kaman, Otten & Gordijn, 2011). Yet, when actual threats are present, people with high self-esteem perceive greater levels of threat, as they have a greater need to preserve a positive self-image (Baumeister, Smart & Boden, 1996; Ethier & Deaux, 1994). This view is contradictory to SIT's hypothesis of self-esteem in events of intergroup conflict, as within SIT the existence of an out-group is seen as an opportunity (rather than a threat) to engage in behaviours, thus highlighting in-group favouritism, leading to enhanced self-esteem (Iacoviello, Berent, Frederic & Periera, 2017). Therefore, in instances of confrontation and/or conflict with out-groups and its members, the self-esteem of individuals and the in-group is maintained or enhanced through out-group derogation. In other words, members of the in-group, or those individuals striving to gain positive view of themselves, engage in pro-discriminatory behaviour to show a greater inclination and oneness with the group, in turn improving their positive view of the self, and positive distinctiveness of the group (Abrams & Hogg, 1988).

Furthermore, whilst out-group existence and behaviour may be more concerning to individuals who identify more strongly with the group from an ITT perspective (see. Aberson & Gaffney, 2009; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Voci, 2006), the opposite is reported to be

the case within SIT, whereby those who are also less integrated with the in-group, and have low self-esteem (i.e. low identifiers), show more discriminatory attitudes, led by greater in-group favouritism (see. Abrams & Hogg, 1988). In this way, ITT and SIT present a contradictory view of the role of self-esteem in predicting appraisal and treatment of out-groups. Of note however, is the view put forth by both theories, that intergroup anxiety is experienced by in-groups in the presence of out-groups, where behaviours may be discriminatory to further comparisons between the groups, or conflict to reduce the anxiety and threat presented by the out-group. In both cases, the underlying reason for this negative appraisal of the 'other' is to maintain positive self-concept and self-esteem of in-groups and its members respectively.

The consequences of perceived threats extend beyond derogation or negative stereotyping of the out-group (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Stephan et al. (2009) suggest that intergroup threats have cognitive, emotional, and behaviour consequences for groups and their members (see. Stephan et al., 2009 for a review). For instance;

(a) Cognitive reactions to threat include changes in reactions to the out-group, leading to extreme hatred and dehumanisation of the out-group (Bartos & Hegarty, 2016; Haslam, 2006). Ybarra, Stephan and Schaberg (2000) suggested, after a long periods of threat, people are more likely to, remember the actions of out-groups as less favourable, apply negative characteristics, at the same time seeing the in-group actions more positively in this situational encounter.

(b) With emotional reactions of intergroup threat, the in-group report feelings of being fearful, angry, anxious, and resentful (Brewer, 1999; Claassen, 2016; Renfro et al., 2006); prolonged threat along with lack of empathy for the stigmatised or powerless group can suggest *schadenfreude*, where group members feel pleasure at the suffering of the other group (Leach, Spears, Branscombe & Doosje, 2003).

(c) Behavioural responses to threat are varied, from social withdrawal to discrimination, through to intergroup conflict and open violence (Carr, Rattan & Dweck, 2012; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Hodson et al., 2013). Individuals who feel their group status is compromised, will engage in discriminatory behaviour towards

those who are perceived to be of a lower status or less powerful than their own group (Hewstone et al., 2014).

1.24 Social Dominance Theory (SDT)

According to SDT, human societies invariably organise themselves in group-based social hierarchies, in which at least one group has greater social status and power in comparison to other groups (Pratto et al., 2006). The theory further posits that socially dominant groups enjoy greater control over desired and symbolic resources, such as political power, wealth, education, housing, better healthcare, protection by force, as well as more positive social values, compared to less powerful groups (Pratto et al., 2006). Hence, group-based oppression is hypothesised within the theory to be primarily derived from difference in power-dynamics, as seen in hierarchically organised groups in human societies (Brown, 2011). Group-based oppression is seen through unequal distribution of desired resources (e.g. power, food, wealth, and health care) to powerful groups, by powerful individuals and institutions, hence marginalising less powerful groups (Sidanius, Pratto, Van Laar & Levin, 2004). Thus, SDT holds that powerful group members exhibit behaviour motivated by self-interest compared to members of less powerful group (i.e. behavioural asymmetry), therefore they will behave according to their prejudiced ideology, and support institutions that allocate resources, in line with their ideology (Pratto, Stallworth & Conway-Lanz, 1998).

Furthermore, SDT proposes that three qualitatively distinct systems of group-based hierarchy are apparent in human societies that produce economic surplus, that is, a situation where the quantity of a good or service supplied, is greater than the quantity demand (Pratto et al., 2006). The first two systems refer to the age and gender systems, where elders and males are suggested to have power over children and females in society. Arbitrary-set systems (the third system) allow the simple understanding of the complex social world (Sidanius et al., 2004), and is determined by the cultural context of the human societies, and their relation to power (this system includes such things as; race, religion, nationality, clan, and ethnicity). The arbitrary-set systems are interchangeable and permeable in controlling the available resources (Sidanius et al., 2004), hence SDT posits group distinctions as crucial in maintaining group boundaries and group-based hierarchy. Therefore, the intimidation and violence asserted

upon arbitrary-set systems is greater in magnitude than those seen in age and gender systems (Pratto et al., 2006).

SDT proposes two functional types of legitimising myths which serve to maintain or reduce oppression and intimidation; *Hierarchy-enhancing legitimising Myths (HE-LMs)* and *Hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths (HA-LMs)*. HE-LMs inform individuals, institutions, and group behaviour, maintaining discrimination and oppression of subordinates, through control over resources. Hierarchy-enhancing institutions maintain discrimination by distributing resources unequally to the dominant groups. Dominant groups also control other resources, so can maintain power over desired and positive resources, while distributing less favourable and/or negative resources to the subordinate groups. Conversely, supports of HA-LMs are focussed on countering and reducing the levels of discrimination, oppression, and intimidation persistent in human societies. Less powerful groups attempt to reduce the oppression, and restore the status quo, in the absence of institutional support and recognition (Halabi & Nadler, 2017; Iqbal & Bilali, 2018). However, the dynamic nature of group dominance means groups vary in their in-group favouritism across different contexts relating to power and privilege (Fang, Sidanius & Pratto, 1998). For instance, SDT suggest that HE-LMs induce self-debilitating behaviours, with subordinate groups being more likely than dominant groups to engage in self-destructive behaviour (e.g. substance abuse, truancy, etc.), leading to further subordination of their group (Pratto et al., 2006).

Within SDT, a personality characteristic called Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) describes an individual's propensity to embrace group-based dominance and inequality (Pratto et al., 1994; Duckitt, 2006; Sidanius, Levin, Federico & Pratto, 2001). Individuals high on SDO will engage in individual and institutional discrimination that maintains or extends the gap between subordinate and dominant groups, whilst justifying their actions by declaring that the hierarchical position of the dominant group and the subordinate is deserved (Pratto et al., 2006). Pratto (1999) reported that high SDO individuals are more likely to support hierarchy enhancing myths, and social policies, that create and maintain greater levels of social hierarchy.

1.25 Social Identity Approach, Intergroup Threat Theory, and Social Dominance Theory: Similarities and Differences

SIT, ITT, and SDT, are all grounded in in-group bias and out-group discrimination (see. Asbrock, Sibley & Duckitt, 2010; Giannakakis & Fritsche, 2011; Guan et al., 2011; Trepte & Loy, 2017). The premise of all three theories asserts that intergroup relations are embedded in power dynamics and social hierarchy (Ho et al., 2015; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Lee, Pratto & Johnson, 2011; Stephan & Stephan , 2017). SIT argues that intergroup comparisons facilitate in-group favouritism, while SDT highlights that groups organise themselves in social hierarchies. These views are persistent with hate crime literature, with perpetrators of these crimes victimising members of out-groups, who are adjudged lower in social status and unworthy of equal treatment (Hardy & Chakraborti, 2020; Perry, 2001). Hate crimes are predominantly directed towards those of less power in society, and those who are already marginalised, to subordinate them further, and send a message to the individual and their group, that they do not belong (Dixon & Gadd, 2006; Perry & Alvi, 2012). This then reaffirms the supposition of SDT that high power groups maintain control of the resources. These prejudices and derogation towards marginalised, less dominant, and minority groups can then be explained by the predictions of ITT, suggesting that downward derogation (i.e. majority groups victimising a minorities), is a response to the feelings of intergroup threat from the existence of an out-group, seen to compete for valuable resources and displace the dominant values, cultures, and belief systems. All in all, the three theories indicate an 'Us vs. Them' ideology, with the in-group seen as more preferential, compared to the despised out-group.

SDT and SIT both highlight asymmetrical in-group bias, whereby members of the in-group behave in ways to favour their group, at the expense of an out-group. However, SIT contends that groups achieve positive distinctness through intergroup comparison, whilst SDT notes that group's distinctiveness is based on their group's social power. Green et al. (2001) argues that hate crimes are not a consequence of differential power dynamics that exist within society, rather they derive from the disparity of the collective beliefs of the in-group and those of the out-groups. Additionally, Green et al. point towards the importance of ITT in actions of individuals that lead to hate crimes. In the author's opinions, the collective beliefs serve as a threat to the in-groups way of life and customs. Therefore, from this perspective,

ITT and SIT are understood to better explain the negative out-group appraisal, and the likelihood of victimisation of out-group members, as individuals may act to reduce the feelings of threat experienced, whilst enhancing the positive distinctiveness of the group. Furthermore, SDT suggests that the group's distinctiveness may be evident when there is a larger power imbalance between the socially dominant and marginalised groups. However, the sensitivity towards these differences may be more favourable to the minority-status individuals, leading to a 'sympathetic response' to minority groups in hate crimes (see. Lyons, 2006). The notions of the victims and perpetrators, coupled with the inferences of power, injustice, and morality, may make people sympathetic towards the plight of the minorities who have suffered marginalisation. Such feelings and reaction may then mean that resources (e.g. more policing, policies to support minority groups) may be put in place to reduce future victimisations of these groups, therefore the concept of realistic threats to the in-group may increase in this way.

Nonetheless, SIT argues that minority groups (or out-groups) are more at risk of victimisation because of the underlying prejudice. In hate crimes, victims are targeted due to their vulnerability or perceived 'difference' by the perpetrator, the problem is even more complicated as they may be identified as an out-group, due to the interplay of multiple identities (e.g. being a certain religious and gay, being a certain race and disabled etc.), situational factors, and prevailing social and economical conditions (Chakraborti & Hardy, 2017). Conversely, ITT argues that majority groups face a greater prospect of strain from minority groups, as there are realistic and symbolic threats presented to the in-group by out-group members. Research into hate crimes have suggested that perpetrators who subordinate members of a minority groups are motivated by the perception of inequality in the treatment of their group compared to an out-group (see. Gadd, Dixon & Jefferson, 2005; Gadd, 2009; Ray & Smith, 2002). Gadd et al. (2005) supported the notion of realistic threat proposed in ITT, as they found that the young and old people blamed foreigners for the industrial decline, and social change in the environment, thus attributing all social problems to the foreign out-group. Similarly, Ray and Smith (2002) found that negative attitudes towards Asian community was said to be due to the assumed preferential treatment of Asians, who were also seen to encroach on the British values by bringing their traditions and way of life to Britain; thus presenting a symbolic threat. In this way, SIT and ITT theorise differing views on the concept of perceived threat on the in-group and out-group.

However, SIT and SCT of intergroup relations and conflict have been critiqued for focussing on a single cause of prejudice and discrimination, particularly in the competition for material and symbolic resources (e.g. Bobo, 2000; Levin & Campbell, 1972). In addition, these theories are further criticised for not considering individual differences amongst the in-group and out-group members. Conversely, Social Dominance Theory (SDT; e.g. Pratto, 1999; Pratto et al., 1994; Pratto, 1999) holds that both structural and individual factors contribute to group-based oppression, thus emphasising the need to understand processes that cause and maintain prejudice and discrimination at multiple levels i.e. institutional, individual, and intergroup processes (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius et al., 2004). ITT proposes situational factors as determining intergroup conflict as threat perception is primary to the theory. Therefore, if an out-group is perceived to be threatening, then conflict is likely so as to maintain social dominance of the in-group. However, the level of threat experienced by individuals is dependent on the overall level of strain experienced in economical, social, and situational factors (Walters, 2011). Individuals' who are in a privileged position, both socially and economically, may not sense any threat posed by out-groups, even when the less privileged members of their in-group are preoccupied with such threats, therefore will not engage in such discriminatory behaviour (Turner & Reynolds, 2003). Despite, the anti-discriminatory behaviour of some individuals, they will still maintain their social dominance and elevated position in society. Similarly, those who have high self-esteem do not need to engage in out-group comparisons to enhance their self-concepts, therefore only those members of an in-group who are trying to achieve or enhance their self-esteem will engage in discriminatory behaviour (Pratto & Stewart, 2012; Turner & Reynolds, 2003). Individuals who are less affiliated with the in-group may not experience the threats posed by out-group members, perhaps because they have less to lose with regards to symbolic threats (Pratto et al., 1994). If individuals have lower endorsement of group values, norms, and culture, then they are less likely to experience sense of loss of these belief systems. As a result, these individuals may not engage in victimisation or hate crimes towards out-groups and its members.

Furthermore, ITT proposes that differences of the out-group are perceived as threatening to the in-group as they have implications for resource distribution. However, SIT and SDT maintain that distinctiveness of the in-group is advantageous, as it increases the self-esteem

of the in-group. SIT and SDT suppose that the out-group are marginalised and oppressed, thus they have low self-esteem, and lack institutional support to compete for the resources. However, as mentioned earlier, over time the plight of the minority groups may be seen as unjust and deserving of better treatment, as the discriminatory actions of socially dominant groups are perceived as more negative (Lyons, 2006). Accordingly, the better representation of minority groups in policies, and a 'voice' to express their marginalisation, can improve self-esteem amongst minority group members, whilst being able to lobby harder for institutional support and resources (Warhurst, 2013). This can then fuels greater intergroup anxiety and threat for higher-status groups controlling resources, due to the existence of out-groups with whom they feel they must compete for the limited resources. According to ITT and SDT, group members who favour in-group dominance will engage in behaviours to reinforce their advantaged position. As threat perceptions are based on individual differences in ITT, individuals with high self-esteem will experience greater threat, and so they will readily be motivated to reduce the realistic and symbolic threat experienced. SDT argues that people high on SDO will exhibit behaviours that widen the gap between dominant and subordinate groups, and in turn maintain social dominance.

SDT has been criticised for being highly context dependant and being responsive to features relating to intergroup context (Turner & Reynolds, 2003). Hence, Schmitt, Branscombe and Kappen (2003) found that the social position of one's group on social hierarchy is a fundamental to attitudes relating to inequality. Thus, a person's group identity is perhaps a better contributing factor to inequality, than their social dominance orientation. Despite all this, SDT argues that it is more functional to live in a hierarchically-organised and stratified society, for both high and low power groups, as these societies are more stable and self-perpetuating, meaning that it will have developed mechanisms for survival (Pratto et al., 2006). However, it seems that the initial perception and appraisal of intergroup difference is critical in evaluating social dominance, as comparisons govern the distinctiveness of one's in-group in relation to an out-group. Therefore, SIT perhaps better explains the understanding of differences between groups that is also evident in hate crimes. However, as argued in ITT, the existence of a difference between the groups is not sufficient for out-group derogation, rather there must be presumption of threat at the hands of the out-group, subsequently driving physical expressions of the prejudice.

Cumulatively the three theories, *Social Identity Approach, Intergroup Threat Theory, and Social Dominance Theory* offer a way to explain the individual, situational, social, and institutional aspects, facilitating intergroup comparisons, and intergroup bias. In other words, these theories offer the possibilities of understanding hate crimes, as hate crimes are grounded in the underlying assumptions of prejudice of the offenders/perpetrators (Craig & Waldo, 1996; Sherry, 2000), and existing in a social context (Chakraborti, 2014). Thus, there is an obvious 'Us vs. Them' ideology presented by the three theories, with the in-group seeing the out-group as an 'other', who is less worthy and deserving of less preferential treatment. Similarly, in hate crime members of one of the five protected groups (race, religious, homosexual, transgender, or disabled), are seen as subordinate and not belonging to the mainstream society by the perpetrators (Benier, 2017; Hall & Bates, 2019; Perry, 2001). As noted before, hate crime victims are marginalised and perpetrated against due to their immutable difference, perhaps because they are seen as an inferior out-group. Also, members of these protected groups may be understood to present a realistic or symbolic threat to the in-group, as they are seen to impinge on resources (i.e. jobs, healthcare, economy etc.), whilst presenting a symbolic threat, as they practice traditional ways of life (e.g. language, religion, customs), which may be understood to displace the values and belief systems of the in-group. In this way, the conflict between the groups may rise from the in-group trying to exercise their control and over resources and British way of life. Thus these frameworks will be used to understand the findings in this research, in particular study 2 and 3 of this thesis.

Chapter 2 – General Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the mixed-methods research (MMR) conducted within this PhD. A summary of different paradigms frequently used within behavioural and social science is provided, as well as reviewing the usefulness and limitations of each paradigm. Finally, the rationale for using MMR (research involving the collection, analysis, and integration of quantitative and qualitative research) in this thesis is presented.

2.1 Overview

In social and behavioural science, there are three major paradigms used to research and understand a given phenomenon; positivism (quantitative research), constructivism (qualitative research), and pragmatism (MMR). A paradigm is the foundation of the research, and it greatly influences the role that the theory plays, as well as the choice of study design employed, the mode of data collection, and the final analysis (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). While positivism is focused on numerical data and analysis, qualitative data is generally embedded in constructivism (also naturalism), and is focussed on identifying and applying knowledge about the topic under investigation, by scrutinising narrative data using suitable methods e.g. thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, Flower & Larkin, 2009), discourse analysis (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001), and so on. Qualitative and Quantitative research methods have dominated the behavioural and social science field (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), primarily because positivists and constructivists believed their methodology to be ideal in researching a phenomenon and finding out about the 'truth' (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), and/or the constructions of reality. Hence, purists of the two paradigms advocated an incompatibility thesis - that the two paradigms cannot be combined (Howe, 1988). This highlighted the preference for the use of mono-methods (i.e. the use of quantitative or qualitative analysis), that has existed in behavioural and social science, to investigate, observe, and study social events, experience, and trends.

The constant battle between the two paradigms led to a third paradigm of MMR (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). MMR is the 'joint-working' between quantitative and qualitative

research, which draws on the strengths of the two approaches, whilst limiting the weaknesses in single research, and across different studies. MMR has been more routinely used in research (see. Ameral, Palm Reed, Cameron & Armstrong, 2014; Ponterotto, Mathew & Raughley, 2013; Ryba et al., 2016), compared to using quantitative or qualitative methods alone, demonstrating its efficacy in handling and understanding complex research problems (Ivankova, Creswell & Stick, 2006; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), whilst facilitating "coming at things differently" (Hesse-Biber & Johnson, 2013, p.103). Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) have argued that the mixed-methods approach is beneficial due to five chief motivations: it assists in increasing the validity of the data, whilst minimising bias (triangulation); it enhances the strengths, whilst minimising the weakness of single methods (complimentarity); it uses the results of one method to enhance another (development); it allows data analysis from different perspectives (initiation); and, it increases the overall scope of the research (expansion). Also, when the two research approaches are integrated and used together in MMR, it is argued that it elicits an effect, where one approach synergistically enhances the other (Moule & Goodman, 2014).

2.2 Positivism and Quantitative Data

Positivist approach to research is typically interested in numerical data and statistical analysis, therefore quantitative methods are commonly used in descriptive, correlational, and experimental study designs (Creswell, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakorri, 2009). Since this approach is concerned with numerical data, it focuses on using established measures, and assigning values to participant's thoughts, emotions, and behaviours for statistical analysis (Christenson & Gutierrez, 2016).

The shared view amongst quantitative researchers is that:

> *"social research should adopt scientific method, that this method is exemplified in the work of modern physicists, and that it consists of the rigorous testing of hypotheses by means of data that take the form of quantitative measurements"* (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994, cited in Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009, p. 5).

In this way, positive, quantitative research argues the need to be 'objective', advocating that the values and bias of the researcher, or the research team, should not influence the mode of data collection, or the interpretation of the data (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Nonetheless, this approach to research uses 'hypotheses' and its testing, which are predictions or assumptions of what is expected to be found, based on theoretical underpinnings or previous research, in answering specific research questions. Thus, quantitative research asserts that reality can be empirically tested, and the interpretations of the findings extend knowledge of this existing reality. However, post-positivism critique the notions proposed by positivist researchers by disagreeing with the concept of a single objective reality (Aliyu, Bello, Kasim & Martin, 2004; Hashemnehzad, 2015). For post-positivism, there can be multiple accounts of objective reality dependant on the angle from which it is observed (Berzonsky, 1993). Also, post-positivist researchers argue that observations are prone to error, hence the existence of an objective reality cannot be accepted with certainty (Gunder, 2008).

2.3 Constructivism and Qualitative Data

Constructivism and qualitative data is the collection and analysis of data and material that is predominantly non-numerical (Christenson & Gutierrez, 2016). Nonetheless, numerical values (e.g. counts of codes, inter-rater reliability coefficients, and statistics, denoting differences between individuals and groups) may be generated by researchers for analytic purposes (DuBois, Strait & Walsh, 2017). Popular methods within this methodology include phenomenology (i.e. the study of consciousness and the objects of direct experience), ethnography (i.e. the scientific study and description of people and cultures, as well as their customs, beliefs, and mutual differences), narratology (i.e. the study of structure and functions of narratives, and its themes, conventions, and symbols), grounded theory (i.e. the systematic methodology involving the gathering of data, and its subsequent analysis to construct theories), and action research (i.e. research aimed at transformative change through the process of doing research and taking action) (Creswell, 2009). The data is also gathered through diverse methods such as focus groups, interviews with individuals, literature search of archival material, review of written materials (e.g. participant journals), as well as longitudinal, ethnographic observation of communities and individuals (Christenson & Gutierrez, 2016; Merriam, 2002).

This approach is concerned with searching for meaning in narrative data as researchers "individually and collectively construct the meaning of a phenomenon under study" (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 331). Contrary to positivism, constructivism theory acknowledges the existence of 'subjectivity' in the reality that they research. This perspective proposes that individuals seek to give meaning to their experiences to understand and interpret the world they live in. However, these experiences are not derived from their own actions alone, yet the meanings ascribed to their 'reality' are constructed from the social interactions that they have with other cohabiting individuals (Creswell, 2014). The constructions of 'reality' are not absolute, and can have multiple meaning and constructions, as they exist within a dynamic social context (Polit & Beck, 2010). As such, the methods used are dependent on the outcome that the researcher endeavours to reach, and so, the methods are likely to vary. For example, the methods employed by a researcher concerned with studying a particular aspect of a given social phenomena, would be different to one looking to support generalisable knowledge about a phenomena (Van Manen, 1990), which may be different to a researcher motivated by theory building (Corbin, Strauss & Strauss, 2008).

2.4 Pragmatism and MMR

Pragmatism is concerned with the research problem rather than the method of investigation, therefore it moves away from the concepts of 'truth' and 'reality', and is focussed on "'what works' as the truth regarding the research question under investigation" (Teddlie & Tashakorri, 2009, p. 342). Therefore, this approach allows the application of a variety of methods, techniques, and procedures, with different assumptions to be used in data collection and analysis, in order to support the line of enquiry of research (Creswell, 2014).

A paradigm war in 1970's and 1980's resulted in social scientists increasingly favouring constructivist qualitative research methods, over the positivist paradigm of quantitative research (see. Gage, 1989), arguing that quantitative methods do not capture the lived experiences and complex issues in a particular social context. Nonetheless, many scholars have noted the strengths of each of these two research approaches (Kelle, 2006; Matveev, 2002; Yang, Zaitlen, Goddard, Visscher & Price, 2014), suggesting that combining the

constructivist qualitative paradigm and positivist quantitative paradigm, would be beneficial in researching and understanding complex research problems (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Creswell (2009) outlines that MMR has further benefits, such as providing opportunities for researchers of diverse backgrounds to work together, at the same time as providing greater insight into the research problems.

As mentioned, MMR only emerged over the last two decades (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009), advising that this approach is the integration of quantitative and qualitative research approaches, to critically understand the existence of a given phenomenon or problem, by capitalising on the strengths of each of the approaches (Greene, 2007; Plano Clarke & Ivankova, 2016). Thus, this approach is interested in both inductive and deductive analysis of numeric and narrative data, to explore a given phenomenon, or answer specific research questions (Creswell, 2014; Polit and Beck, 2010; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Inductive approaches are typically associated with qualitative research, and are concerned with generating new theories emerging from data, through exploring new phenomena, or studying previously researched phenomena from a different perspective. On the contrary, deductive approach to research usually begins with a hypothesis and the emphasis is generally on causality. Either way, MMR is apt for both line of research enquiry, with MMR researchers advocating "whatever methodological tools" can be used to answer research questions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 7). In research using the MMR approach, qualitative research may precede quantitative research to identify themes, concepts, and research questions, to explore the underlying phenomena before quantitatively validity it (Creswell, 2004), at the same time, qualitative methods may follow quantitative research to comprehensively analyse the meaning of the findings (Aarons, Fettes, Somerfield & Palikas, 2012).

2.5 MMR and this Thesis

The aim of the PhD is to understand the general, social, and cultural attitudes towards facets of hate crimes. Namely, the media representation of race and religious hate crime, and how hate crime is construed by individuals, to create possible cultural understanding about hate crimes in society. The use of a mixed-method is the pragmatic approach adopted by this PhD

that offers the possibility of a more comprehensive understanding of hate crime for, in contrast to a mono-methodological approach, the top-down, inductive and deductive approach can permit this.

Mixed-methodology focuses on the key differential aspects of the two research perspectives and combines their individual perspectives, intents, research questions, data sources, analytical techniques, and conclusions derived from this approach (Plano Clarke, 2016). Pluye and Hong (2014) suggest that the approach to data collection with a MMR research design can be exploratory (Study 2), explanatory (Study 1 and 3), or convergent (the thesis overall). The convergent approach is the simultaneous integration of both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, whilst exploratory and explanatory approaches are used to support and substantiate the findings of quantitative and qualitative research methods. In an exploratory approach, the preceding qualitative data collection and analysis paves way for subsequent quantitative analysis such as a survey (Doyle, 2015), while within an explanatory approach, the qualitative findings validate the quantitative findings.

Quantitative analysis has a predictive factor that can be generalised to different settings and can be replicated (Kelle, 2006), due to the controlled method that is often employs. It is often seen as a tool to uncover objective facts associated with a given social phenomena, as the method assumes that there is a fixed and measurable reality (Brannen, 2017). Quantitative research is apt at testing conceptual models, and understands the relationship between variables, establishing the effectiveness of a given treatment, or measuring particular views and opinions of a particular group (Christenson & Gutierrez, 2016; Creswell, 2009). Therefore, this approach was well suited to address the question of typology of hate crime offenders (see McDevitt et al., 2002), as well as exploring other facet of hate-motivated violence (see. Berk, 1990), devising a comprehensive database of the variables identified in reports of race and religious hate crimes in the media. However, it needs to be acknowledged that quantitative research often neglects the lived experiences in terms of the emotional and psychological consequences of the individuals, who are directly involved in, and those who are affected by, the social phenomena under scrutiny. Hence quantitative data analysis can lead to grouping of individuals, and in turn, lead to the oversimplification of human nature (Cohen, Sanborn & Shiffrin, 2008), eradicating individuality, individual differences, and

subjective experiences of people, which are pivotal to all social and socio-psychological research (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2016; Saucier, 2018).

Alternatively, qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that is not bound in, or limited to quantification or statistical procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Hence, the approach is focussed on understanding a phenomena in context-specific settings (Golafshani, 2003), where the "phenomenon of interest unfold naturally" (Patton, 2001, p. 39). In investigating hate crime, practical (accessing victim or perpetrators of hate crime) and/or ethical (observing such event unfold naturally) constraints exist. Hence to explore hate-crime where in-depth reflection could be ascertained, narrative data was collected through story-completion tasks to uncover the understanding of race, religious and unspecified hate crimes. Since the crimes are evident in society, and the repercussions of which are experienced by those residing in the society (i.e. the general public), the views of the general public on these crimes were identified as being crucial. This PhD was not interested in 'how much' people know about hate crimes, rather it was interested in 'what motives, characters, behaviours, and situations' they ascribe to hate crimes, to uncover the social and cultural understanding of hate crimes within society. This has implications for reporting and recording hate crimes, as well as highlighting disparity between hate crime scholarship and policy knowledge to that of the general public, and provides knowledge of the conceptualisation of these crimes in society.

2.6 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to develop the understanding of hate crimes in general, and of race and religious hate crimes in particular. A MMR deployed for a quantitative approach allows focus on the observable, and objects variables that are evident in these crimes; in exploring how these crimes are understood by the general public, a qualitative approach using story-completion was utilised; finally to detail what social-psychological factors may underpin hate crime offending, an on-line quantitative study was conducted. Being complex social, psychological, and cultural events, MMR and these three different studies built on contrasting approaches, offering means to better understand the phenomenon.

PART TWO

SECTION B: CHARACTERISTIC OF RACE AND RELIGIOUS HATE CRIME

Chapter 3 – Media representation of hate crimes leading to societal understanding

3.1 Introduction

Account of Media Impact of the general Public Perception on Social Issues

Since the 1980's 'hate crime' has been a popular term (Hall, 2017; Perry, 2001), often being used to retrospectively to label crimes committed by individuals and groups, prior to this time period, for instance in understanding the second world war genocide of Jews (Barnes & Ephross, 1994; Brustein, 2003; Grimshaw, 2017; Nichols, Nolan & Colyer, 2008). In the 21st century, hate crimes have not only become a major part of legal framework and debate (Brax & Munthe, 2015; Hall, 2017; Salter & McGuire, 2015), but also become a major political concern (Chakraborti, 2012; Green et al., 2001), affecting core values of any given society, by negatively affecting social stability and structure (Iganski, 1999; Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Levin, 1999). However, as hate crimes are a relatively new phenomenon in the UK, it is paramount to investigate how they are reported by the media.

Mass media is a common medium through which people gain information and news about what is happening in the world. The media plays a vital role in shaping and reflecting public opinions on a variety of topics including crime (Jewkes, 2015; Stromback, 2012). Also, the media has the ability to mobilise, construct, and tap into people's views and understanding on various social, political, and cultural issues (Freedman, 2014). Thus, consumer's attitudes and behaviours regarding a given topic are influenced by what is witnessed in the media (Harne & Radford, 2008). Many of the events that occur in the world or in one's social sphere are not experienced first-hand by majority of the people. Therefore, the reality of those events are experienced and constructed by the textual, visual, and auditory stimuli, presented by journalists in the media (Domke, Perlmutter & Spratt, 2002).

The media (newspapers, news reports, films, and magazines) has been attributed to a discourse by which people understand phenomena (Barnidge & Rojas, 2014; Guo & Vu, 2018; Scharrer & Ramasubramanian, 2015). The media provides information and accounts that helps people navigate the world that they live in. Lippmann (1922 as cited in Guo & Vu, 2018) believed that newspaper readers assume what they read to be the actual reality of the environmental and social context. With people not being able to witness many events directly, various media provide raw materials by which individuals can construct an opinion, and indeed it informs people of what opinion, or perspective to take. (Hoffman, 2013).

Communication theories assert the influence of the mass media on the construction of reality in the minds of the general public. The Cultivation Theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980 as cited in Mehraj, Bhat & Mehraj, 2014) holds that audiences readily absorb the dominant images, words, and symbols, presented in the media, thus these dominant stimuli become the schema to understand the issue. For example, the inclusion of death or tragic social and economical consequences instantly gains public attention, therefore they are heavily reported in criminal news stories (Duwe, 2000). Television has become a major source of information, and research has shown that people who spend majority of their time watching television, are more likely to view the world as depicted on the television screen (Busselle, 2001; Potter & Chang, 1990). However, cultivation theory has been critiqued for it over-exaggeration of the mass-media in shaping public thinking and opinion (Robinson, 2001).

On the other hand, The 'Agenda-Setting Theory' (see. Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006; Wolfe, Jones & Baumgartner, 2013) of mass media informs that the content of the media (i.e. what issues are being covered), is more important in shaping public views and opinions of the public. Media deliberately engages in biased reporting and sensational news selection that leads people to develop an obscured understanding of social reality and social issues (Davis & McLeod, 2003; Husselbee & Elliot; 2002; Uribe & Gunter, 2007), whilst increasing the channel's Television Rating Point (TRP; a tool for judging the popularity of the channel). Hence, the news delivered to the public is framed by journalists; media editorials and

companies frame the event in a way that the understanding and conceptualisation of the event in the minds of the public is aligned to their position (De Vreese, 2005; 2014).

The selective emphasis on some characteristics over others by the media, can lead to directing "public attention on certain attributes of an issue or candidate and influence how issues are understood" (Wolfe et al., 2013, p. 178). Therefore, other characteristics of social issues are buried or cut to divert public attention away from it (Colistra, 2014; Hancock & Haldeman, 2017). Hence, what one knows about a social issue or their reality can vary based on what is perceived in the media (Hoffman, 2013). Although, what is reported in the media contains factual information relating to the issue, the information is collected and organised in a systemic manner, to only draw attention to features that presents perceived reality of that issue (Entman, 2007). In doing so, facts are construed strategically to perceive the information in line with media agenda. Despite all, the media provides a channel through which people find out about various topics, issues, and debates, pertinent in the public and social sphere (McCombs & Guo, 2014). Information about social issues is more readily available through the media, increasing awareness in the general public of problems that they may have not known of, or not had much knowledge of previously.

Alternatively, The Uses and Gratification Theory (see. Ifinedo, 2016; Rubin, 2009; Ruggiero, 2000) asserts that the media can only influence those people who want to be influenced. This theory argues a shift from how the media influences people to how people make use of the media. The Uses approach argued that people actively and willingly expose themselves to the media, therefore they are more likely to absorb the messages of the mass media. However, the theory claims that the media cannot influence people who do not use media or its features. Conversely, entertainment has been argued to be the primary reason for people exposing themselves to the mass media (Mayerson, 1995; Voderer, Klimmt & Ritterfeld, 2004). Play Theory (Stephenson, 1964) put forth that the media serves as a play experience for the audience to seek pleasure and entertainment (even amongst newspaper readers), rather than information and enlightenment. Though people may perceive mass media as a medium to gain gratification and pleasure, the focus on selected events will lead to a distorted or partial construction of the reality, governed by selective reporting of events. The role of the media (and newspapers in particular), is to provide information and knowledge on issues as to

reduce ambiguity, to assist readers in understanding key issues and their essence, thus directing them to the right response and conceptualisation (Lloyd & Ramon, 2017). Yet in providing clarity, the press can over-simplify complex issues, and so dilute the severity of the issue, whilst providing simplistic solutions.

As mentioned before, hate crimes are a relatively new phenomenon in the UK, therefore it is paramount to investigate how they are reported by the media, and what features are focussed upon. As media reports highlight the issues dominant in society, examining these sources can elucidate features of hate crimes that are not noted in hate crime policy and scholarship. Therefore, the coverage of race and religious hate crimes in newspaper reporting is important to understand the fragility of these crimes (e.g. it can happen to anyone based on their identity), whilst learning more about what hate crime is, and what should be reported in the event of victimisation. Thus, media accounts may add to the "real-life" value of hate crimes, by signifying how hate-motivated incidents manifest in the real-world.

Yet seldom does reporting on hate crime cover all the information about where, when, and by whom, these crimes were committed. This is perhaps because it is deemed irrelevant, or because this information is not available for every hate crime committed, given the dynamic nature of hate crimes. Thus, many of the features that may be understood as important in hate crime literature and scholarship (e.g. age of perpetrator), may not be noted in newspaper reports. Conversely, if certain features (e.g. injury, weapons) are emphasised in hate crime reporting due to its newsworthiness, then the general public may understand all hate crimes to involve these features e.g. weapons. Consequently, all hate-motivated victimisation that does not involve injuries or weapons (e.g. racial slur, graffiti etc.) may not be perceived as hate crimes, as the narrow focus in the media on hate crimes will result in a similar construction in the minds of the general public, thus augmenting the problems of under-reporting.

3.11 Characteristics of Hate Crime in literature

The demographics of hate crime better prepare investigation into hate crimes and improve the possibility of crime solvability (Espiritu, 2004), hate crime reduction, and support to victims

(Zaykowski, 2010). The literature on hate crimes has been varied with regards to the methods they have used to understand these crimes. Whilst some studies used official accounts and statistics (i.e. police data, data from reported incidents) to understand the characteristic of these crimes, other research has used simulations to understand the phenomenon of hate crimes, by evaluating the perceptions of its severity and attributions of blame (Marcus-Newhall, Blake & Baumann, 2002; Plumm, Terrance, Henderson & Ellingson, 2010). In the following section, accounts of the characteristics of hate crimes as found in literature, will be presented. The presentation of these findings allows the later newspaper representation of hate crimes to be contextualised.

One of the key findings reported in hate crime literature is that these crimes are commonly associated with groups of youth or young men (Craig, 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002; Perry & Alvi, 2012), who often express their prejudice towards members of a group perceived to be different from their own (Hall, 2013; Perry, 2001). A consistent finding in race-motivated hate crimes, is that compared to parallel crimes, hate crimes are more likely to involve multiple offenders (Garafalo & Martin, 1993; Hall, 2013; Perry, 2001; Perry & Alvi, 2012). Furthermore, literature has consistently reported that the victims are often unknown to the perpetrators (Perry, 2001; Zaykowski, 2010), thus emphasising the 'stranger-danger' overtone of hate crimes (Mason, 2005; Perry, 2001). Although, information on the characteristics of victims, perpetrators, and demographics of hate crime perpetration and victimisation is available, it is heavily dependent on the amalgamation of findings from various literature and sources, rather than a single empirically collected dataset. As argued by Berk (1990), it is premature to assume that hate crimes follow this trend, without a full empirical analysis of other factors perhaps influencing who is victimised, where they are victimised, and by whom. Berk advocates that hate crimes should be examined based on the empirical attributes (see below), as even if there is no association between the attributes outlined and hate-motivated crimes, it still provides a more concrete explanation of hate crimes.

When considering hate crime literature, it is evident that racial minority groups are more susceptible to hate crime victimisation compared to the other protected groups, such as disability, gender-identity, and sexual orientation (Hanes & Machin, 2014; Perry, 2015; Van

Kesteren, 2016). Most of the hate crime literature has focussed on race-motivated intimidation and violence (Cuerden & Rogers, 2017; Iganski & Lagou, 2015). Racist hate crimes refer to one or more people being targeted only because of their racial or ethnic group membership, or their national identity and origin (Philips & Webster, 2013). Research into race-motivated hate crimes has used police records and official data to outline the key factors in these crimes (see. McDevitt, Balboni & Bennett, 2000; Sandholtz, Langton & Planty, 2013; Van Kesteren, 2006; Zaykowski, 2010). Furthermore, research suggests that the perpetrators of these crimes are often unknown to the victims (Mason, 2005; Perry, 2012; Zaykowski, 2010). McDevitt and colleagues (see. Levin & McDevitt, 1993; McDevitt et al., 2002) observed that stranger attacks are a common feature of all hate crimes, where perpetrators typically attack their victims in groups. Furthermore, they report that race-motivated hate crimes are more severe in their seriousness than parallel crimes, in that they require hospitalisation, greater medical attention, and treatment (Iganski, 2001; Levin, 1999).

Although 15 years old, Messner, McHugh and Felson (2004) analysed the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS), and concluded that Black people are four times more likely to hate-motivated attacks, compared to other ethnic groups. These crimes are often committed in open or public space i.e. car parks, streets, main road (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Garafalo, 1991; Martin, 1996). However, the findings and characteristics discussed of racial hate crime are typically from the US, and their generalisation to the UK is problematic for two main reasons; firstly, given the history of Blacks and American interrelation, there is invariably profound racism directed towards the Black community in the US (Craig, 1999; Dovidio, Gaertner & Pearson, 2005). Secondly, the rise in terrorist groups, terrorist attacks, and the socio-political messages of terrorism, Islamic and Muslim individuals now finds themselves at the forefront of discrimination and hate motivated violence (Allen, 2015; Awan & Zempi, 2016; Poynting & Mason, 2007).

In reference to religious hate crimes, terrorist attacks act as a catalyst to reciprocal violence in the form of hate crimes towards members of religious group (King & Sutton, 2013; Levin & Reichelmann, 2015). An immediate spike in anti-Muslim violence was observed following terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in the US on 9/11, and the London bombings on the London underground on 7/7 (Hanes & Machin, 2014; Panagopoulos, 2006), even though

the victims had no affiliation to the terrorists, apart from sharing a religious identity. Since then, the stigmatisation of Islam as a violent religious ideology has served to oppress and marginalise those who follow the faith in the West (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006). In the West, Muslim men are perceived to symbolise the face of terrorism, fundamentalism and extremism, at the same time as Muslim women personifying gender oppression (Zempi & Awan, 2016). Therefore, religious outfits that provide visual or symbolic cues to one's group membership become key markers for hostility and aggression (Allen, 2015). Women of Muslim faith are primarily the victims of religious hate crimes in Western societies (Allen, 2015; Perry, 2014) as their identity is clearly visible by their clothing (i.e. religious and cultural dress such as the hijab, naqaab and jilbab). Therefore, it would be unsurprising to find a similar trend in this study when considering newspaper reports on religious hate crimes in the UK. Terrorist attacks receive media attention due to their newsworthiness (Papacharissi & De Fatima Oliveira, 2008), and with Muslim people reported as the perpetrators of such crimes, it would be expected that they are scapegoats of anti-terrorist sentiments. The focus on Muslims can mobilise perceptions towards the Muslim community in the general public, therefore it is important to investigate how they are portrayed in the media.

3.12 Leicester Hate Crime Project (LCHP)

The LHCP (Chakraborti, Garland & Hardy, 2014) assessed people's experience of hate, prejudice, and targeted hostility. The project endeavoured to understand the physical, psychological, and emotional harm, of hate crime victimisation on the victims and their families, at the same time analysing how the quality of the support offered to victims can be improved. Using a mixed-methods design consisting of questionnaires (online and off-line), and in-depth face-to-face interviews, views of people aged over 16 years was analysed (1106 surveys; 374 face to face interviews). Consistent with Hanes and Machin (2014), Perry, (2015), Van Kesteren, (2016), and Zaykowski (2010) findings, the project found that a greater proportion of the victims identified their ethnicity or race to be the reason behind their victimisation, with Black Africans being the most targeted by race, followed by Indians, White British, and Chinese.

The ‘symbolic nature’ of hate crime, as identified with religious hate crimes discussed earlier, was also highlighted within the project, with 21% of the respondents attributing their victimisation to their appearance, or the way they dress. Appearance of an individual categorises them into a cultural, religious, ethnic, or gender group, based on the dress or visual markers to which the appearance is most pertinent (i.e. hijab symbolises Muslim and kippah is associated with Jewish community). However, dress and appearance was not limited to religious and cultural outfits such as hijab, kippah, and turban within the project, as participants with uniquely distinct dressing styles, and those with physical imperfections, also reported dress as underlying their victimisation. Muslim participants reported that their victimisation was significantly more related to their religious beliefs (71%), compared to the rest of the cohort (29%); more so women, who also focussed on their dress and appearance compared to men, a finding consistent with Allen (2015) and Perry (2014), who reported that women of Muslim faith are the primarily victims of religious hate crimes.

Though hate motivated crimes are noted to occur at home or close to a victim’s home (Berk, 1990; Hall, 2013; Pezella & Feltzer, 2011), this was only the case for 22% of the victims. In the project, public places such as the street, car parks and city centres were the most frequent place of victimisation at 35%; with 10% committed at school, college, or university. Surprisingly, only 1% of the incidents were reported to have happened at a place of worship, even though 19% strongly believed they were attacked because of their religious beliefs or faith. An interesting observation from this study involved a sub-set of 77 participants with asylum seeker and refugee status. Here it was found that only 18% believed their victimisation was a consequence of them belonging to this minority group (i.e. member of asylum seeker or refugee group), even though hate crime is argued to deliver a message to minority groups (Perry, Paradies & Pedersen, 2015; Rabrenovic, 2007; Van Kesteren, 2016). The remaining 63 participants outlined race, religion, dress, and appearance, as the key motivating factors for the perpetrator, accounting for almost 80% of the sample. These findings inform the conceptualisation and understanding of hate crimes, by drawing on the actual victimisation experiences of the residents in Leicester. Nonetheless, the project is grounded in academic research, as such it is not widely accessible to those not seeking information on hate crimes, nor is it readily presented to lay audience. Hence, it does not explain the experiences of these crimes in the general public, and even when it does, it is limited to a small demographic sample.

3.13 Current Study

The LHCP (Chakraborti et al., 2014) was novel in approach and comprehensive in outlining some of the key features, characteristics, and demographics of people, who are at greater risk of victimisation, who are typical perpetrators of hate crimes, as well as outlining why people felt they have been perpetrated against, or have been repeatedly victimised. This information into hate crime perpetration and victimisation is invaluable to ascertain where, when, and by whom, these attacks are most probable. The LHCP gives us some idea of hate crimes, but it may be more a localised image of hate crimes, for the Leicester demographic is markedly different to the general make-up of the UK For instance, Leicester religious make-up in 2011 was as follows.

Table 1

The Religious Affiliation of the General Population in Britain and Leicester in 2011.

Religion	Britain	Leicester
Christian	59.49%	32.40%
Muslim	4.41%	18.63%
Hindu	1.32%	15.19%
Sikh	0.68%	4.38%
Jewish	0.43%	0.09%
Buddhist	0.41%	0.37%

Note. The data was derived from the Office of National Statistics.

Replicating such a project across the UK would be insightful; however it is beyond the scope of a PhD. More to the point, the present study is interested in the cultural perception of race and religious hate crimes, rather than the actual characteristics. Therefore, to explore these questions, British newspapers, both regional and national, tabloids and broadsheets, were examined, with the purpose of analysing and outlining the key features and characteristics of hate crime in the UK. One of the major advantages of newspapers is that they are easily accessible online through archived databases, therefore information about an event is

available, and can be easily located, categorised, and analysed, qualitatively or quantitatively. In this study the data will be analysed quantitatively, as quantitative analysis allows the discovery of facts relating to a social phenomenon (Minichiello, Aroni & Minichiello, 1990). The fundamental aim of the study was to describe how hate crime is constructed in the newspaper. Hence, key characteristics and features of race and religious hate crimes were identified.

3.14 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to analyse and outline the key features and characteristics of race and religious hate crimes in the UK, as described in the media. This study focussed on racially and religiously motivated hate crimes, as they accounted for almost 86% of total hate crimes in the UK by the end of March 2016 (Home Office, 2016). Previous research has analysed crime surveys (Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Messner et al., 2004; Walfield, Socia & Powers, 2017) or victim accounts of victimisation, via surveys or face-to-face interviews (Home Office, 2016; LHCP, 2014), often in the absence of supporting evidence. This study looks at what characteristics the media reports, as who the prime victims are, the place they are most likely to be attacked, and other features of the victims and perpetrators.

In this study, the key characteristics and features of race and religious hate crimes were explored by attending to the hate crime attributes that were argued to be important by Berk (1990), to get a more encompassing understanding of hate crimes. These attributes included questions about the location of attack, relationship between victim and perpetrator, gender and number of perpetrators. In addition, other characteristics (e.g. number of victims, ages of victims) that emerged in newspaper reporting of hate crimes were also noted ad hoc, to gain a comprehensive coverage of hate crime characteristics. The current study also attempted to address other specific questions and build on the existing literature on race and religious hate crimes. The study aimed to ascertain whether race hate crimes are more prevalent than religious hate crimes, and whether religious hate crimes are more symbolic (i.e. does religious dress, a symbol and other visual marker). Also, the study was interested in uncovering whether religious hate crimes are predominantly focussed on Islam and Muslims in the UK, if so, are Muslim women more vulnerable to hate crimes, as they are more

recognisable as Muslims due to their religious dress. These questions are derived from previous literature into race and religious hate crimes, which regularly reported both perpetrators and victims of these crimes to be young males, with perpetrators often found in groups carrying a weapon, and attacking unknown victims at their home, or close to their home, whilst advocating that wearing religious, ethnic, and cultural symbols leads to victimisation, particularly for women (Allen, 2015; Singh, 2013).

3.2 Methods

UK national and regional newspapers were selected for analysis to between the 1st January 2015 to 30th June 2016, and the key features associated with these crimes, such as victim age, perpetrator age, location of the attack, time and day of the attack, weapon use, type of weapon, and relationship of victim to perpetrator were coded. The inclusion of all the newspapers ensured that the data was inclusive of all the race and religious hate crime incidents within both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. This approach substantiated that the data is reflective of the British context and the results being widely generalisable to the UK population and demographics. The articles were sourced via three methods. Firstly, the LexisNexis library, which is a comprehensive online library of press reports, was searched for race and religious hate crime incidents. As the newspaper reports can be sourced on the LexisNexis library by date of post and keywords, the archives of individual newspaper websites were searched using key terms such as ‘race’, ‘religion’, ‘racial’, ‘religious’, ‘cultural’, ‘faith’, ‘revenge’, ‘hate*’, ‘ethnic*’, ‘prejudice*’ (see Table 2 for full list). The asterisk was included at the end of the words such as ‘hate*’, ‘prejudice*’ and ‘ethnic*’ during secondary search to ensure the inclusion of similar terms and phrases that may be have missed during full term search.

Table 2

Search terms used for sourcing newspaper reports on racially/ethnic and religiously motivated hate crimes

Search Terms	
Race	Hateful
Religion	Hatred
Racial	Prejudice*
Religious	Prejudicial
Cultural	Ethnic*
Faith	Hated
Revenge	Ethnicity
Hate*	Culture
	Nationality

Note. * included at the end of the words only during secondary search

3.21 Data strategy

A coding dictionary was created which contained the key characteristics and features the newspaper reports on race and religious hate crime. As such the study adopted a theory-driven or 'top-down' approach, whereby what was reported was the sole guiding force in identifying the features of hate crime. The characteristics extracted from the report was inputted as a variable and given appropriate values. For instance, nominal codes to categorise whether an incident involved a weapon or not ("No" was "0", and "Yes" was "1"). The *'type of weapon*' was then specified using a similar coding and value method i.e. "0" was "no weapon", "1" was 'gun', "2" was 'knife', so on and so forth. Other characteristics that did not have categorical properties (i.e. ordinal and scale data) were entered as whole number figures for analysis, for instance, how many perpetrators were involved in the incident. New variables and elements were added as needed, for instance, if an incident was reported to have taken place in a hospital, then 'hospital' was added under the 'place of attack' variable, and given a value of "27", as 26 places of attack had already been identified. A total of 22 variables (see Appendix 1.) were extracted as the key features in race and religious hate crime as evident in newspaper reports. Attempts were made to be as comprehensive as possible to encode as much of the details reported about an incident as possible.

3.22 Final Data

A total of 96 national newspaper reports and 152 regional newspaper reports were found, for the eighteen month period of 1st January 2015 – 30th June 2016, as articles reporting hate-crime incidents. Of the 96 national reports, 37 reports were of race hate crime (38.5%), whilst 59 were religious hate crime incidents (61.5%). Conversely, the 152 regional newspapers reports revealed the occurrence of 81 religiously motivated hate crimes (52.3%) and 71 race-motivated hate crime (47.7%) incidents within the UK Overall, the accumulation of all reports highlighted that race-motivated hate crimes accounted for 43.5% (108/248) incidents, whilst religious hate crime account for 56.5% (140 / 248) of the incident reported within the UK during this time. Thus the coding dictionary entered into SPSS contained 248 incidents.

3.3 Results and Discussion

The current study outlined typical characteristics of victims and perpetrators, as well as the demographics where these crimes are most prevalent. Newspaper reports were used to highlight the discrepancies between features of race and religious hate crimes in the UK, and those reported in academic literature and research on hate crimes. One of the reasons for this discrepancy is assumed to reflect the selective reporting by newspaper companies, whereby the information presented to the readers is dependent on what is seen as newsworthy. Below are the findings of this study.

3.31 Age of perpetrators

In this study, newspaper articles reported that perpetrators of race and religious hate crimes were predominantly in the age bracket of 18 years to 29 years, with nearly half the cases being representative of this age group (Table 3). Almost the entire body of hate crime research investigating the perpetrators of hate crimes, have denoted that these crimes are committed by young males, often acting as part of a group, yet not as a member of an organised hate group (Craig, 2002; Perry, 2009). Conversely, other research has concluded that adolescents under 18 years of age are most likely to commit hate crimes than their older counter parts (Craig & Waldo, 1996; Turpin-Petrosino, 2015), being influenced by peer

pressure, pressure to conform, or to restore balance from the perceived injustice (McDevitt et al., 2002; Nolan et al., 2002).

Table 3

Age of victims and perpetrators of Hate Crime

	Victim		Perpetrator	
Age Group	N	%	N	%
Under 17	23	16.5	33	13.9
18 – 29	66	47.5	117	49.4
30 – 39	19	13.7	45	19.0
40 – 49	20	14.4	19	8.0
50 – 59	5	3.6	17	7.2
Over 60	6	4.3	6	2.5

Note. N = number of victims or perpetrators per age group

So here, it is clear that hate crime perpetration is most common among younger individuals, and decreases with age, with 82.3% of hate crimes being committed by those aged 39 and under, whilst only 17.7% of crimes are committed by individuals aged over 40. Whilst this trend is consistent with literature that youths are most active perpetrators of hate crimes (Steinberg, Brooks & Remtulla, 2003; Watts, 2001), future research should address factors which cause hate crime offenders to disengage in hate crimes after a certain age, which can support the development of preventative strategies, incorporating the key factors in hate crime desistance.

Table 4

Frequency of perpetrators per hate crime case

Number of perpetrators	N	%
1	157	63.3
2	28	11.3
3	12	4.8
4	11	4.4
5	10	4.0
6	1	0.4
7	1	0.4
8	1	0.4
10	2	0.8
12	1	0.4
13	1	0.4
25	1	0.4
No Information	22	8.9

Note. N = Frequency of perpetrators.

Conventionally, hate crimes are associated with groups of youths, and young men in particular (McDevitt et al., 2002), yet in newspaper reports hate crimes are more frequently reported to be committed by lone perpetrators (Table 4). Though there was evidence that hate crimes are committed in groups of two or more individuals (27.7%), the reports suggested that it was more likely that a single person could be the perpetrator (63.3%) of hate crimes. Thus, this will create the notion of hate crimes being 'lone wolf' acts, as well as being sporadic and opportunistic in nature, rather than a planned attack often committed in groups (Craig, 2002; Craig & Waldo, 1996; Perry, 2009). However, even taking on board newspaper constructing hate crime as individualistic acts, Duckitt (1992) argues that such violence often highlights the negative intergroup attitude held by the perpetrators in-group towards the out-group. Thus negative feelings towards a group are disseminated to all the group members.

3.32 Incident Ratio

Hate crimes are argued to involve one on one confrontation between the victim and the perpetrator (Craig & Waldo, 1996; Perry, 2001), or even two or move perpetrators. Here,

Incident Ratio describes the reports in the newspaper of the ratio between '*perpetrator to victim*', or *'victim to perpetrator'*.

3.33 Ratio of perpetrators to victims

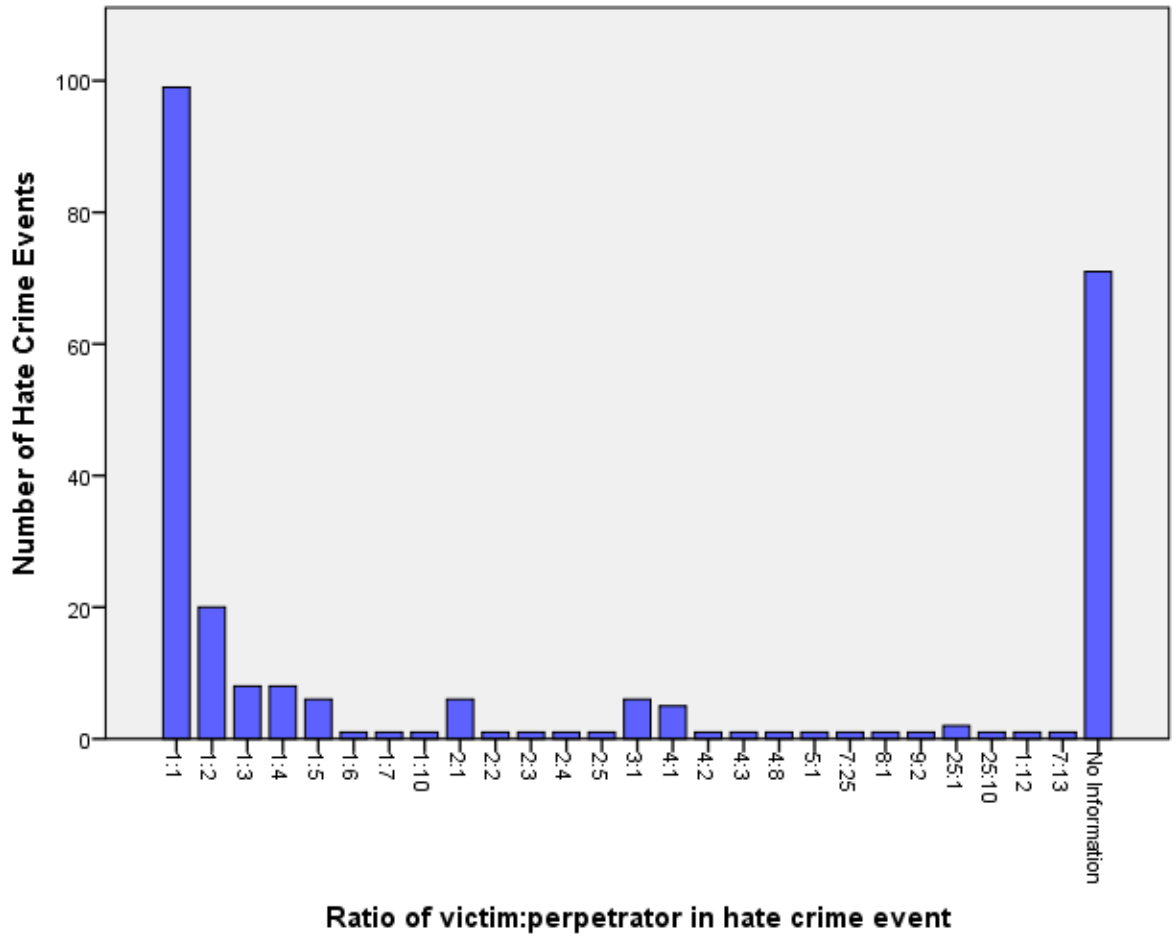

Figure 1. Ratio of victim:perpetrator in race and religious hate crimes analysed.

Although most cases in newspaper reports on hate crime events highlighted one to one altercations between the victim and the perpetrator, incidents involving two perpetrators or more perpetrators against a single victim are not uncommon, with 42 incidents reported to involve between 2 and 5 perpetrators. The focus of hate crimes is to intimidate the victims and their group, therefore the victimisation of an individual by a group reinforces the minority status of the group, and the presence of multiple perpetrators signals that the victim group is powerless (Perry, 2001).

3.34 Perpetrator relationship to the victim

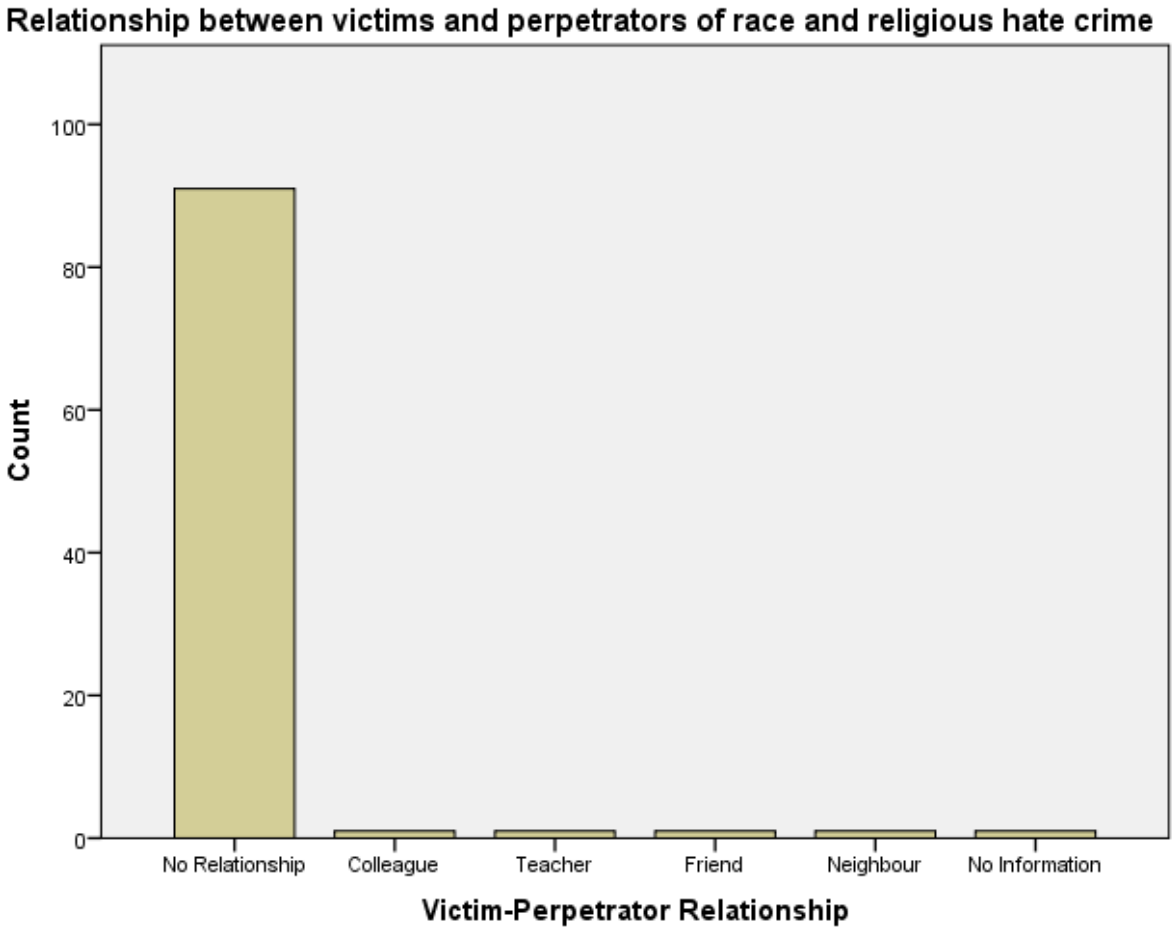

Figure 2. Relationship between the victim and the perpetrator in the cases of race and religious hate crimes analysed.

The newspaper article reports analysed in this study highlighted that in majority of the cases there was no apparent relationship between the victims and perpetrators. In the cases where there was a known relationship, the perpetrators were in close contact to the victim in the form of a friend, colleague, teacher, or a neighbour. Although, literature on hate crimes directly addressing the question of victim-perpetrator relationship is scarce (Mason, 2005), the limited literature available has concluded that there is a 'stranger danger' i.e. an act of hate-motivated violence, where the victim and the perpetrator, are both unknown to each other (Craig, 2002; Mason, 2005; Strom, 2001), or that the victims and perpetrators of these crimes have very minimal personal contact (Perry, 2001). Thus, the finding of this study substantiates the notion of 'stranger danger' in the commission of hate crimes documented in

previous literature (Craig, 2002; Mason, 2005; Strom, 2001). However, the findings of the current study are interesting, not least because they appear to overinflate the problem of 'stranger-danger' in hate crimes, as the level of 'stranger danger' highlighted in this study (90% of the cases) has not been found previously. Mason (2005) reported considerably lower levels of the notion of 'stranger-danger', with only 50% - 60% of race hate crimes committed by perpetrators who are unknown to the victim. To add further, Stanko et al. (2003) found that stranger hate crimes were significantly lower at 10.2% of incidents, concluding that neighbours (18.4%), school children (18.4%), locals/local youths (8.2%), and customers/colleagues (14.3%), make up the perpetrators known to the victims. Despite previous findings not reporting the notion of 'stranger danger' akin to the findings of this study, they do necessitate the need to be more cognisant of this situation. Also, the 'stranger danger' found in this study, may elucidate the 'prototypical' nature of hate crimes, whereby the victims and perpetrators of these crimes are invariably strangers (see. Wang, 1999). Thus incidents where the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator is known, may not be considered as hate crime at all. Such incidents are less likely to be covered by newspaper reports, as they may not be recognised as hate crimes, hence explaining the greater number of cases outlining 'stranger danger'.

3.35 Location of attack/victimisation

Based on the information available from newspaper reporting of hate crimes attacks, an idea of where these incidents are likely to take place can be gauged, and possible actions to make these areas safer (e.g. lighting, surveillance, community watch, etc.) initiated. With the exception of a few studies (Martin, 1996; Strom, 2001), research into the location and situational context of hate crimes has been rare, but with research concluding that hate-motivated crimes can be sporadic and ubiquitous (Garafalo, 1991; Levin & McDevitt, 1993), certain places where certain individual and groups are more susceptible to such crimes is illuminating.

Table 5

Location of racially and religiously motivated hate crimes

Variable	Ethnic/Racial Motivation		Religious Motivation	
	N	**%**	***N***	**%**
Place of Attack				
Commercial/Retail/Business Buildings	**17**	**15.7**	**28**	**??**
Cemetery	0	0	1	0.7
Hospital	1	0.9	0	0
Park	4	3.7	5	3.6
Petrol pump	1	0.9	0	0
Pub	0	0	3	2.1
Restaurant	1	0.9	2	1.4
Shop/Mall	10	9.3	14	10.0
Stadium	0	0	1	0.7
Workplace	0	0	2	1.4
Home	**18**	**16.7**	**10**	**7.1**
Open Spaces	**36**	**33.3**	**32**	**22.8**
Car Park	1	0.9	1	0.7
Main road	18	16.7	14	10.0
Street	17	15.7	17	12.1
Online	**13**	**12.0**	**17**	**12.1**
Educational Institutions	**4**	**3.7**	**8**	**5.7**
School	3	2.8	5	3.6
University	1	0.9	3	2.1
Religious/Community Buildings	**9**	**8.4**	**31**	**22.1**
Asylum Centre	1	0.9	0	0
Church	3	2.8	1	0.7
Community Centre	2	1.9	3	2.1
Mosque	2	1.9	26	18.6
Temple	1	0.9	1	0.7
Public Transport	**7**	**6.5**	**9**	**6.4**
Bus	2	1.9	3	2.1
Taxi	1	0.9	0	0
Train	4	3.7	6	4.3
Various Places	**1**	**0.9**	**0**	**0**
No information	**3**	**2.8**	**4**	**2.9**

Previous research, and inspection of national databases focussing on the situational contexts of hate crime incidents, has suggested that hate crimes typically occur at the victim's home, or in close proximity to their home (Martin, 1996; Messner et al., 2004; Strom, 2001). Echoing previous findings, in this study hate crimes motivated by ethnic or racial prejudice

were more likely to occur at the victim's residence (16.7%), however this trend was less prevalent in religious hate crimes, with only 7.1% incidents reported at or in close proximity to the victim's home. Conversely, religious hate crimes were reported to occur more frequently at religious institutions (i.e. mosque/temple/church) at 20%, with mosques being the most targeted (18.6%). The prevalence of race and religious hate crimes from the newspaper reports examined in this study contradicts the findings of LHCP (2014), as the LHCP reported lower levels of hate crime victimisation in and around places of worship. However, this study was about the representations of hate crimes in the media, therefore the contrast in the findings may reflect the notion that Islam become the new 'folk devil' of media attention, receiving more coverage, and invariably increasing negative attitudes towards the Islamic faith, through outlining differences of Muslims (Chakraborti and Zempi (2014)). It is clear that both the home, and place of worship, have one characteristic that unites them; both can be seen to be regarded as safe-haven, and a harmonious place.

However, hate crimes can also occur in places further away from the home in open-spaces (i.e. roadways e.g. main roads, streets, alleys, parking spaces and garages). Strom (2001) reported that 28% of hate crimes were found to be committed in open-spaces. The findings of Strom (2001) are comparable to the findings of the current study, as 32.4% of hate crimes motivated by race or ethnic difference was evident from the analysis. Religiously motivated hate crimes were less common, but were still 22.1% of incidents. Strom (2001) reported that 19% of hate crimes occur in commercial/retail businesses or public buildings (e.g. supermarkets, superstores, banks, bars, clubs, shops, malls, pub, hospital, hotel, restaurants, park, and trains). Race hate crimes in retail buildings and public spaces in this study was 12%, whilst religiously motivated hate crimes in these places was 14.9%. Whether these incidents result from disagreements between regular shoppers which spiral into hate crimes, or are more spontaneous, is not known. Possibly a more detailed reading of the newspaper account would provide an answer to this.

Above all, there appears to be a substantial spike in the number of hate crimes that are committed on public transport. The British Transport Police (BTP) reported a 37% increase in hate crimes over the past 5 years, with 1993 cases pertaining to racially motivated attacks alone. Furthermore, , the rates of victimisation had increased to 57% on public transport in

two weeks post-BREXIT, with an overall increase of 78% compared to the same period in 2015 (Guardian, 2016). These trends outline the magnitude of the problem that hate crimes on public transport (especially trains) pose, thus indicating that it warrants a separate category, rather than being recorded under the protected groups. In the current study, there is evidence that race and religious hate crimes occur on the trains (3.4% and 4.3% respectively). These might be considered low percentages, but trains are only one form of transport where people are exposed to hate-motivated victimisation. Athwal et al. (2010) reported that taxi-drivers are at 'high-risk' of attacks motivated by racial prejudice which can even lead to death. Athwal and colleagues reported over 10% of attacks on taxi drivers, in taxis or in taxi offices, however this study did not find comparative results, with only one case of hate crime towards taxi driver.

Although hate crimes at homes or public places, and transport have been discussed above, more recently, literature has reported that hate crimes are not only an offline-event (events occurring in public or community spaces), but also take place in cyberspace. People are more routinely victimised online due to their immutable differences (Chan, Ghose & Seamans, 2016; Hawdon, Oksanen & Rasanen, 2017), however studies show that Muslims are continually at the receiving end of hate-filled discourse and intimidation, both in public space, as well as online (Awan, 2014; Awan, 2016; Awan & Zempi, 2015; Awan & Zempi, 2016). The newspaper reports analysed in this study did show that online hate crimes are reported in newspapers, however the number of cases for both race and religious hate crimes were relatively similar, suggesting that victims of both these crime types are at the receiving end of hate-filled messages online.

3.36 Time of Attack

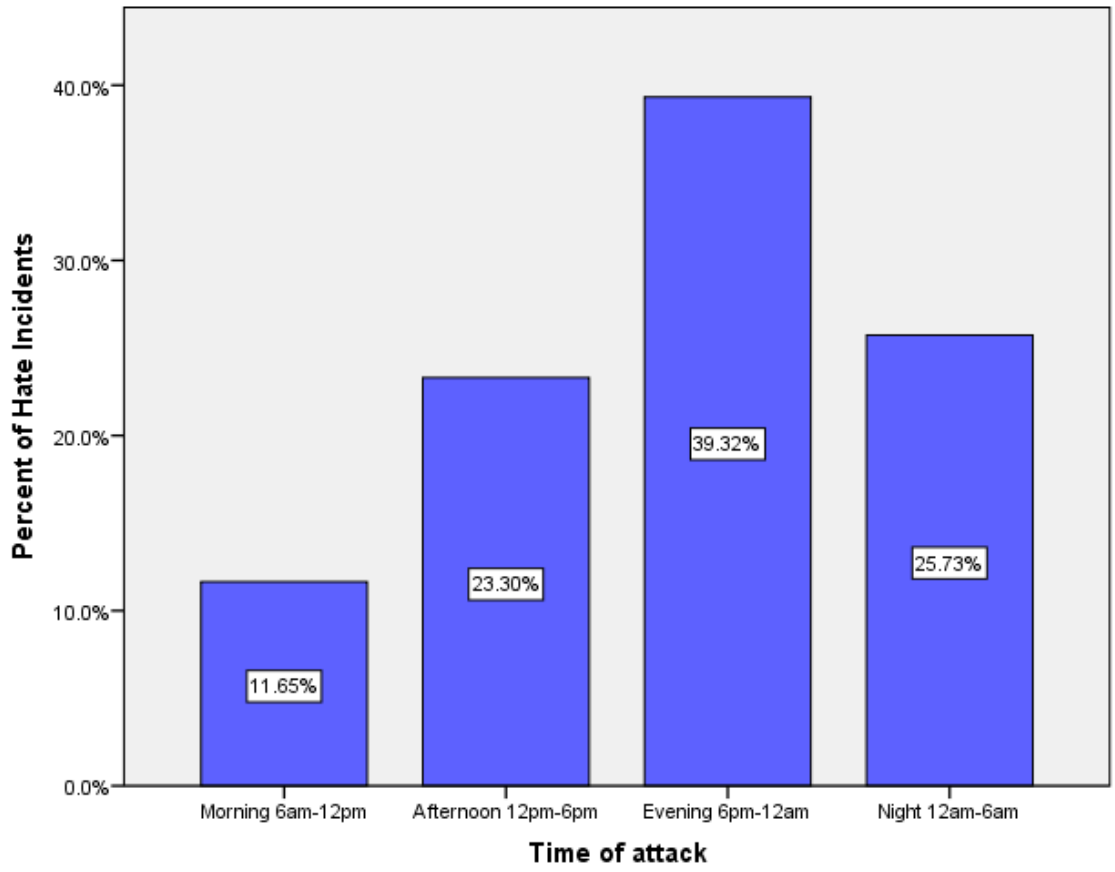

Figure 3. Time of attack when race and religious hate crimes occurred in the cases analysed.

From analysing collection of newspaper reports on hate crimes, the most frequent time these incidents were committed was between 12pm and 6pm at about 40% (Figure 3.). Similarly, Mason (2005) also found that 70% of race and homophobic hate crimes are mostly committed in the day between noon and midnight. However hate crimes motivated by religious hatred may be increased between 6pm and 12am due to the availability of religious victims during these times. Anti-Semitic and Anti-Islamic hate crimes are a major concern in the UK (Awan & Zempi, 2016; Poynting & Mason, 2007), and followers of these faiths are vulnerable to hate crime victimisation when attending religious prayers or ceremonies, when their identity is more pronounced by the religious dress they wear during prayer times (e.g. veil, burkha, topi, hijab, kippah). Judaism's final or additional prayer of *Arvit* ("of the evening") or *Maariv* ("nightfall"), and Islam's fourth prayer of *Maghrib* ("after sunset"), usually takes place between 6pm to 12am, where Jewish and Muslims travel to Synagogues

or Mosques to perform their religious duties, facilitating potential contact between potential victims and perpetrators.

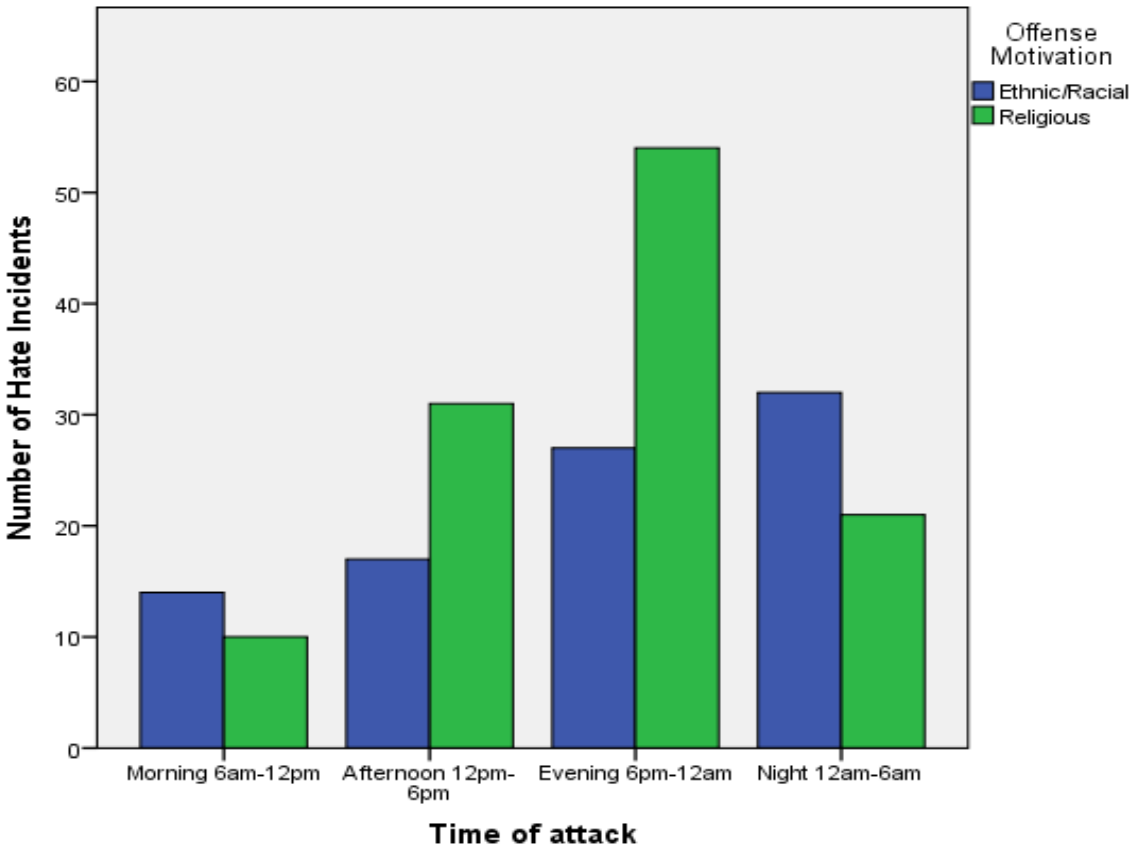

Figure 4. Difference in the frequency of race and religious hate crimes depending on the time of the day.

3.37 Day of attack

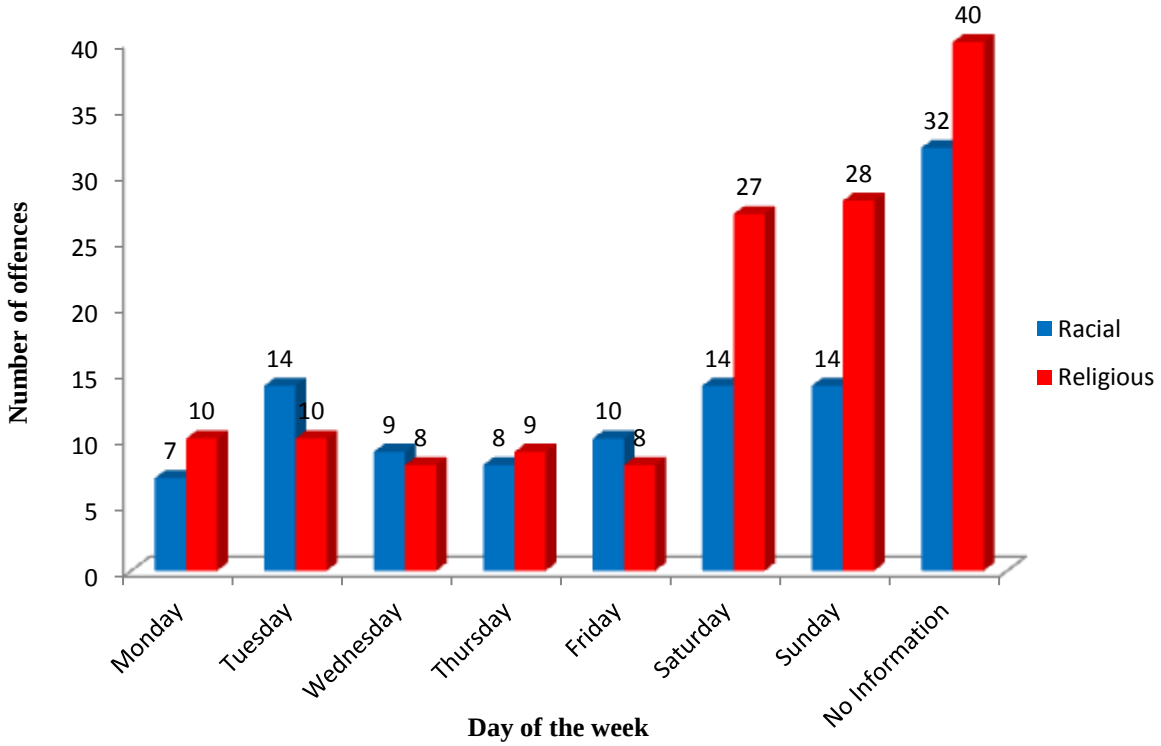

Figure 5. Difference in the frequency of race and religious hate crimes depending on the day of the week.

An interesting comparison in hate crime research is whether there is a difference in the frequency of events given the day of the week (i.e. are hate crimes more common on a particular day compared to another). Literature has suggested that hate crimes are sporadic events (Levin & McDevitt, 1993; Perry & Alvi, 2012; McDevitt et al., 2002), in that they can be committed against anyone, anytime, and anywhere. It then would not be surprising to find that hate crimes are recorded on all the days of the week. In this study, hate crimes were evident on each day of the week for both racially-motivated hate crimes, as well as religiously-motivated hate crimes. This victimisation on the weekend can be due to more people being in open spaces and commercial/retail buildings, thus presenting greater opportunity for intergroup contact, and consequential hate crimes. Gronqvist and Niknami (2014) suggest that crime and criminal incidents are generally more common on the weekend, even for parallel crimes (i.e. crimes not involving hate motivations). They note that the

consumption of alcohol on the weekend increase the levels of crimes, as more people are involved in social and leisure activities on the weekend (see. Andresen & Malleson, 2015). Similarly, Athwal et al. (2010) found that racial hate crime rates were almost four times higher in the weekend at 32% compared to 8.4% in the weekdays, as more people are intoxicated with alcohol and recreational drugs.

Whilst this observation is credible, it does not explain the current study's observation of a spike in religious hate crimes on the weekend. Race hate crime and religious hate crimes are relatively similar across the week days. Religious hate crimes ranged from eight to ten incidents in the week, but increased during the weekends to twenty-seven incidents on Saturday, and twenty-eight incidents on Sunday, respectively. It is evident that religious hate crimes almost doubled over the weekend in comparison to race hate crimes. Perhaps, this finding of religious hate crimes being elevated over the weekend reflect the consequence of religious activities, ceremonies (e.g. Sunday Church, community prayers and religious gatherings), and dressing in religious attire on the weekends, which would identify individuals more definitely. Much of the research has outlined religious symbols, as well as religious and ethnic dress to promote discrimination (see. Fox & Akbaba, 2015; Jasperse, Ward & Jose, 2012; Oliva, 2016) and violence (see Chakraborti & Zempi, 2012; Kaplan, 2006; Perry, 2014). These outward expressions of religious group perhaps renders Muslims as noticeable targets compared to other religious groups, even in crowded places, and so are prone to victimisation. However, this is a mere speculation and more research is needed to delineate the association of weekends with increase in religious hate crimes.

3.38 Gender of perpetrator

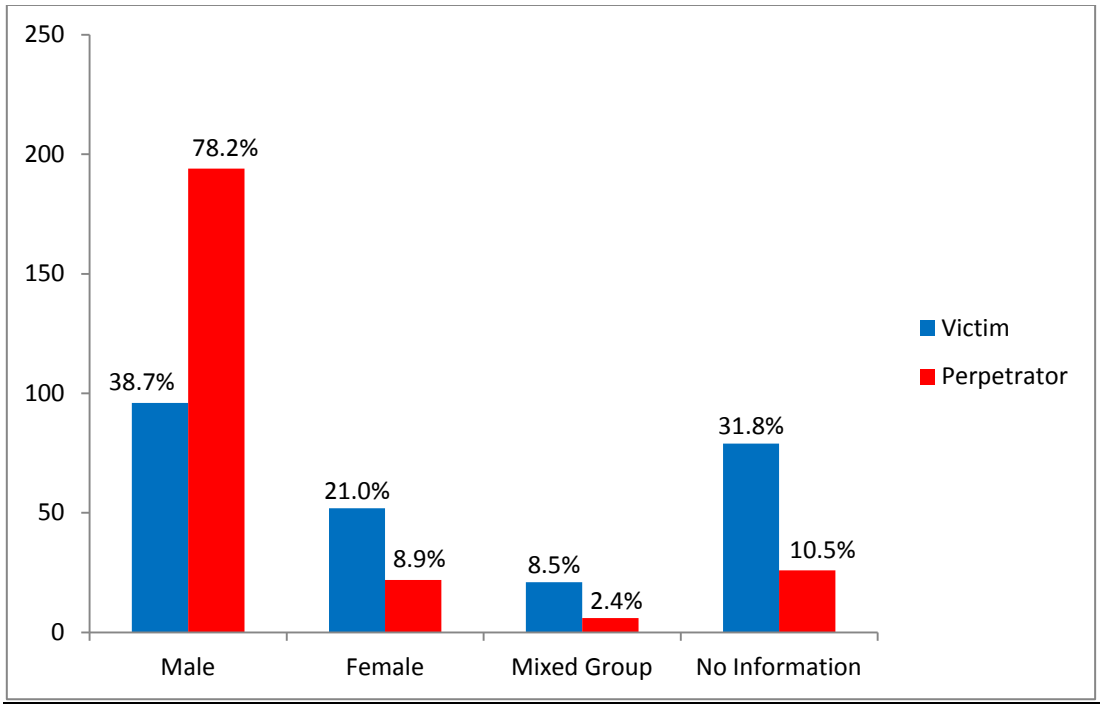

Figure 6. Difference in the number victims and perpetrators in race and religious hate crimes, and whether they were males, females, in a mixed group or no information provided in the cases analysed.

It is well documented in hate crime literature that the chief protagonists of hate-motivated violence are men (Craig, 2002; Hall, 2013; Perry, 2001). Nearly all the official data, victimisation and crime surveys indicate that young men are significantly more likely to express their in-group prejudice and bigotry towards the out-group (Craig & Waldo, 1996; McDevitt et al., 2002; Perry, 2001). The current study supported the findings of previously literature as the findings highlighted that 78.2% of the cases of race and religious hate crimes in newspaper reporting were committed by men (either alone or in the company of other men), compared to women who perpetrated 8.9% of the crimes. One possible explanation that has been offered for the general finding of a gender difference in the perpetration of these crimes is the urge for men to 'fit in' to, or be accepted by a group, which is not so prevalent in women (Lee & Crofts, 2015).

The study refuted previous research claiming that these crimes are committed in groups, as majority of the incidents covered in the newspapers suggested 'lone wolf' perpetration. McDevitt et al. (2002) observed that majority of hate crimes are committed for 'thrill' rather than deep-rooted prejudice, therefore these incidents may be carried out by a single person, even though they may be succumbing to peer pressure and being encouraged by a group (Paluck & Chwe, 2017). Given the sporadic nature of hate crimes (see. Craig, 2002; Perry, 2009), a perpetrator may victimise a person in the off-chance that they see them, compared to a mission hate crime, where the perpetrators actively seek their victims. Moreover, the findings in this study are representation of these crimes in the media, where only those incidents that involved a single perpetrator came to the attention of news agencies, and so it may not reflect all hate crimes in society, or those reported in literature (if they may have employed a different methodology).

Interestingly, the current study found that in cases where groups of perpetrators were reported, a mixed group perpetration (i.e. group with both men and women) was evident. Even though perpetration by a group, involving males and female perpetrators was least common, such a finding has not been reported in previous research. Thus, more research is needed to understand the factors that leads to males and females engaging in hate crimes in the presence of the opposite gender, in that is it due to prejudice towards out-groups, or other socio-psychological factors e.g. competition for dominance and masculinity. Finally, in some of the reports, information about the perpetrator was unavailable (10.5%), perhaps because the perpetrator was not arrested, or the detail was not deemed important by the reporting agency.

3.39 Other associated crimes

Berk (1990) stipulated that a well-documented account of hate-motivated crimes would include details of 'other associated crimes' when considering hate crimes. It is understood that by reference to 'other associated crimes', Berk referred to the motivation(s) other than hate or prejudice (e.g. monetary gain). Nonetheless, the newspaper reports examined in this study did not reveal other motivations, or include information on other associated crimes. One potential reason for not finding information on associated crimes may be that these

crimes reported in newspapers are exclusively categorised as pertaining to race and religious hate crimes. If there was a more palpable crime motivation (e.g. theft), then it would be classified as a theft rather than a hate crime, thus it would not appear on the search list. The construct of hate crime is then the notion that for a crime to be seen as a such, *necessary and sufficient condition* needs to fulfilled, whereby the necessary condition is an attack on particular individuals/group (e.g. five protected groups), whilst the sufficient condition is that other motives or affiliated crime are discounted.

3.4 Regional and national reporting of Race and Religious Hate Crimes

Table 6 below presents the number of hate crime incidents motivated by racial or religious bias reported in the local and national newspapers, between the periods of 1st January 2015 through to 30th June 2016. Out of the 248 incidents, 38.7% (n=96) were reports from national newspapers, with regional coverage accounting for 61.3% (n=152) of the hate crime incidents.

Table 6

Number of crimes motivated by racial and religious bias

	Newspaper Type		
Offense Motivation	National	Regional	Total
Racial/Ethnic	37 (38.5%)	71 (46.7%)	108
Religious	59 (61.5%)	81 (53.3%)	140
Total	96	152	248

Hate crime literature and recorded statistics have regarded race as the most frequent instance of hate crime (Home Office, 2016; Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003; Glaser, Dixit & Green, 2002; Iganski, 2008; Stacey, 2015), however in this study racially motivated hate crimes were less prevalent with 108 cases (43.5%), compared to religiously motivated crimes, which accounted for 140 cases (56.5%). The greater coverage of religious hate crimes compared to race hate crimes in national newspapers may allude to the notion of media hype and news sensationalism in news reporting. National newspapers are selective in their coverage of events to appeal to a wider audience (see. Peelo, Frances, Soothill, Pearson & Ackerley, 2004; Buckler & Travis, 2005; Paulsen, 2003), and so only report those cases that are observed to be 'sensational' and 'newsworthy', which will increase their readership (Chibnall, 2013; Myers & Caniglia, 2004). The focus on religious identity of the victim and perpetrators of hate crimes provides more 'newsworthy' content, at the same time as representing hate crimes in a certain light e.g. the religious affiliation of the victims and perpetrators of these crimes. What this then highlights, and results in, is the amplification by the media of religion related issues within the UK. For instance, the rise of extremism by Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, Islamic State of Syria and the Levant (ISIL), and like-minded groups, who publicise themselves as Muslims and members of Islam, leads to a negative stereotype and prejudice towards all Muslims (Powell, 2011; Shaw, 2012; Von Sikorski, Schmuck, Matthes & Binder, 2017). Thus, this reporting of religiously motivated events, construct hate-crime as principally religious hate crime, which increase the sensationalism of the news in a time of heighted religious concern. In addition, such focus on certain religions may serve to consolidate the existing discourse in society, such as Muslims are a threat to the UK and the West.

3.41 Limitations and Selective Bias in Newspaper Reporting

Almost every 'official' article, journal, and book published on hate crime reports a rise in race and religious hate crimes in the UK (e.g. Home office, 2016). The current research was an attempt to delineate these features of race and religious hate crime as they are understood in general society, rather than in official documents, and in that way get a sense of how these crimes differ in terms of its location, weapon use, and injuries, associated with the victimisation. As discussed earlier, newspapers provided information and knowledge about the current affairs and issues that are relevant around the world, and communicate problems

around a topic to the public. However the selectiveness of the media in what to show, and how much to show, means that people create an understanding around an issue based on limited information presented by the media. Hence, the perceptions around that topic area are often ill-informed, yet people can assume understanding in full. This poses a problem for hate crimes, as the focus on certain characteristics by the newspapers, may lead to the public constructing the reality, and awareness of hate crimes, as reflecting what is reported in the newspapers (or other media).

Hate crimes are heavily underreported, and even when hate crimes are reported, they may not be deemed newsworthy by the media, and so they are not included in national or regional newspapers. This has two major issues for the construction of hate crimes amongst the general public, and also the potential detection of hate crimes for victims. Firstly, if hate crimes are constructed with the limited characteristics in the media, then the dominant images, symbols, and words around its conceptualisation, becomes the dominant view. Thus, the more subtle expressions of hate crimes (e.g. racial slur, spitting, and name-calling) will not be perceived as hate-motivated incidents, signifying a partial understanding of hate crimes, guided by extreme expressions of hate in the media. Secondly, subtle experiences of hate crimes by the public may not be perceived as hate crimes, because they are not supposed as hate crimes, as they do not reflect what is reported in the media. Consequently, hate crime victimisation may go unnoticed and unreported, further augmenting the problems of reporting in hate crimes.

Newspaper articles were chosen in this study as they provide a useful source of information, by reporting on current and historical affairs. They contain different kinds of information that can be used in a variety of ways, including scientific research (Tanackovic, Krtalic & Lacovic, 2014). The information contained in newspapers is argued to reflect social and cultural values, and such information cannot be found in television and other media (Tanackovic et al., 2014). Another advantage of newspapers compared to other media, is that they are material artefacts worth researching, both in print form (e.g. typography, paper properties) and online (graphic design). Research could benefit from having access to well organised and preserved newspaper articles, through which historical data can be analysed. Contrarily, television, social, and other media are limited in this respect, as information

cannot be accessed historically due to legal controls (Nielsen & Sambrook, 2016). Televisions and social media seldom hold archival data, and even when they do, to gain access to the channel content, a license or subscription is mandated, or data must be purchased through commercial suppliers. These issues are not seen with newspaper data that are more easily available and can be accessed from online archive on the news agencies website.

However, as mentioned before, newspaper data invariably suffer from selection and reporting bias (Warren-Gordon, 2018). Further issues of newspaper data arise from the guidelines and the norms that news agencies adhere to when reporting events, in that they do not report events as they occur, they structure reports based on several factors such as competition over different newspapers, reporting norms, and editorial concerns (Earl, Martin, McCarthy & Soule, 2004). In this way, the representations of hate crimes in the newspapers can be limited, with only highly intense crimes covered.

3.5 Conclusion

Despite the suggested limitations noticeable in using newspaper as source of race and religious hate crime information, as well as the dilemma of underreporting in hate crime research and practice, this study provides perspective on the representation of hate crime in the media, which will be circulated within society by one of the major attitude forming institutions – newspaper. From the current findings, what can be concluded is that the ideas that are circulated in culture, and then help create a representation of hate crime in the media, (i.e. newspapers) is as follows:

(1) Most common perpetrators of hate crimes in newspaper reports tend to be young. 74% of the hate crimes in this study indicated that the perpetrators were 29 years or younger. Most of these crimes are committed by males, however they are also the victims of these crimes. Thus, the Male:Male hate crimes represented strongly in this study.

(2) Supporting Mason (2005), this study suggested that hate crimes reported in the newspapers suggest a 'stranger-danger', with approximately 90% of the incidents reporting that the victim and the perpetrator did not know each other previously.

(3) Contrary to previous assumptions from literature and findings in official statistics that hate crimes are committed by groups of young people or youths (see. McDevitt et al., 2001), this study found that newspaper representation of hate crimes are more indicative of 'lone wolf' perpetration, in that a single perpetrator is more likely to attack a person (or a group) based on their actual or perceived difference. On further analysis, it was found that single victim to single perpetrator (1:1) hate crimes are the most common.

(4) Though previous research suggests hate crimes are be committed close to home, or near the victims home, the analysis of newspaper coverage of hate crimes in this study found that 'open spaces' are shown to be the place where most hate crimes take place, irrespective of race or religious hatred of the perpetrator. However, it is acknowledged that "open spaces" do not inform how close or far from the victim's home or turf the incidents took place. As open space can be a street, it is difficult to extrapolate whether it was a street adjoining the victim's home, or a street considerable distance away. The newspaper reports further illustrated that people are susceptible to hate crimes online, or in a shop or a mall. For religious hate crimes, the newspapers show that religious buildings are a major target for graffiti, especially mosques, as a method to express anti-Muslim sentiments.

(5) Evenings and weekends were reported to be the times when the majority of race and religious hate crimes take place. The analysis of the newspaper reports of race hate crimes indicated a similar trend in hate crimes from 6pm – 12am and 12am – 6pm (12 hours), whereas religious hate crimes are most pertinent between 6pm – 12pm, perhaps because that is when religious prayers take place, and so victims are most accessible. Moreover, analysis of the reports suggests race hate crimes are relatively stable over the weekdays (with slight increase on weekends), however a considerable increase in religious hate crimes on the weekend was indicated. Although possible explanations have been provided for the increase in religious hate crimes over the weekend (e.g. more religious, ceremonies, group activities

etc.), further research would be interesting to investigate the association between religious hate crimes and weekends. Also, these findings are a reflection of the representations of hate crimes in newspaper reporting, rather than actual hate crimes, therefore it would be beneficial to compare these findings with those of official statistics, to examine whether these trends exist in official statistics and to what extent.

These ideas will help inform the story, and ideas, people will have about hate crime. As such, they highlight what is reported in the media, and what features and characteristics of hate crimes are focussed on. If one considers the agenda setting theory of mass media, then this selective and channelled understanding of race and religious hate crimes should be visible in the stories that the general public construct. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to note if that is the case, as the scrutiny of the hate crime cases in this study has found both support, and contradiction, to what is reported in academia and hate crime scholarship.

It remains interesting as to what are the actual accounts that people can tell when thinking about hate crimes. People will draw on the dominant discourses that are available to them, some of these informed by the media, to create an understanding of hate crime. The following study attempts to ascertain what some of these notions of hate crimes are.

SECTION C: GENERAL PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION OF HATE CRIMES

Chapter 4 – Story-telling the cultural and community understanding of hate crimes: Imagining different actors (Victims, Police, and Defendants) perspectives by the general public.

Introduction to Perceptions of Hate Crimes

Academia and policy-makers agree that hate crimes are criminal acts perpetrated against an individual based on their perceived or actual difference (see. Chakraborti & Garland, 2012; Perry, 2001), however what remains unknown is how the general public perceive hate crimes. The perceptions of hate crimes have been studied in various samples; bystanders (Rayburn, Mendoza & Davison, 2003); students (Cramer, Nobles, Amacker & Dovoedo, 2013; Jackson & Heckman, 2002; Miller, 2001); young adults (Craig & Waldo, 1996); residents (Wickes, Sydes, Benier & Higginson, 2017), and the victims themselves (Wickes et al., 2017), but a general community and cultural understanding remains unheard. In general, two approaches have been used to empirically study the perception of hate crime – survey/questionnaires and jury simulation.

Survey/Questionnaires Studies in the Perception of Hate Crime

Craig and Waldo (1996) assessed the perceptions of hate crime amongst college students using a 5-phrase questionnaire. They found that participants focussed on the demographic status of the perpetrator and victims, whilst suggesting that hate crimes would involve violence or assault. Black participants noted increased likelihood of hate crimes against minority group members, and referred to the race and gender of the perpetrator more than White participants. In a second study, the personal knowledge of the victim in different conditions (i.e. race hate crime, religious hate crime, sexual-orientation hate crime, or ambiguous hate crime), how disruptive the incident was for the victim, how likely it was that the perpetrators would be punished (if apprehended), and, that a similar incident could take place in their own neighbourhood, was assessed on a university campus. The participants were allocated to four conditions; 1) type of hate crime (Black, Jewish, gay, ambiguous), (2) sex of victim (male or female), (3) sex of participant (male or female), and (4) race of participant (White, Asian, African-American, Latino/a).

The findings revealed that participants of colour were more likely to report knowing a victim of anti-Semitic incident, whilst Whites reported personal knowledge of a victim of a racially motivated assault, however neither groups of participants reported personal knowledge of a heterosexist (ambiguous) assault. There was also a gender difference observed in the participants reporting knowledge of the victim, with males reporting personal knowledge of victims of ambiguous hate crimes, whereas females reported knowing victims of anti-Semitic or racially motivated hate crimes. The likelihood of a female participant reporting knowledge of heterosexist assault victim was significantly less than anti-Semitic and racist hate crimes.

Female participants perceived ambiguous assault to be more disruptive to victims, whilst males regarded assaults motivated by heterosexism as more disruptive. Also, male participants regarded racially motivated assaults as less disruptive than other types of assaults. However, when asked if participants would be apprehended and punished, participant responses revealed that they believed assaults motivated by anti-Semitism, racism, and heterosexism were more likely to be punished, compared to ambiguously motivated assaults. Also, a gender difference was seen when participants were asked about the

likelihood of these assaults in their neighbourhood, with each gender suggesting greater likelihood of assault towards members of their own gender group, for example males participants reported increased likelihood of assault towards males in the neighbourhood and vice versa.

Perry (2010) surveyed 807 university students who reported that they had witnessed, or heard about hate crimes, and concluded that the majority of the students failed to recognise the harmful impact of university community, and the context in which it occurs. Consequently, many hate crimes and acts of bigotry (i.e. physical expression of intolerance towards those who hold different views from oneself) may go unrecognised and unaddressed. The community context on perceptions of hate crimes was studied by Sydes, Wickes, and Higginson (2014). In a survey of 4000 residents in Australia, the authors reported that communities with more ethnically diverse population, and apparent disadvantage, more readily recognised hate crimes as a problem. There was no difference between the perception and recognition of hate crimes between the racial or ethnic background of the participant.

Wickes et al. (2017) studied the relationship between the resident's perception of hate crimes and the impact of self-reported victimisation. The study focussed on two primary questions; firstly, 'do local residents see hate crime?' (i.e. are non-hate crime victims aware that hate crime has taken place in their local area), and secondly, 'under what conditions do residents' perceptions of hate crime align with victims' self-reported hate crime?. The authors reported that the residents did see (i.e. acknowledge) hate crimes, however the relationship between perceptions of hate crimes did not marry up with self-reported hate crimes. The findings also pointed out that neighbourhoods with a high concentration of non-English speaking minorities, displayed a reduced occurrence of hate crimes.

Jury Simulation Studies in the Perception of Hate Crime

Another approach used to investigate the perception of hate crime is to use jury simulation study. Jury simulations are experimental studies that simulate the jury task by having a group of individuals, who are not jurors, to make a decision regarding an experimental case, 'as if'

it was an actual case (Bornstein et al., 2017). Thus, the experimental studies attempt to construct a setting that mirrors a jury decision-making environment. Marcus-Newhall, Blake & Bauman (2002) used this approach to investigate the factors that might affect perceptions towards racist hate crimes, and the treatment of hate crime perpetrators in the legal system. In experiment one, they used a sample of 133 White college students and manipulated the race of the victim, race of the perpetrator, and political orientation. They found participants being more certain that the person was a victim when the perpetrator was White-American, and when the participants were self-identified as liberals, rather than conservatives. Also, participants advocated longer sentences when the victim was African American, compared to when they were White-American, suggesting hate crimes against a minority is perceived more negatively. Marcus-Newhall et al. (2002) replicated the study using 104 non-college White-American participants sample to increase the representativeness of the study. The replication of the first study found no significance of race or political orientation on the certainty of guilt. However, the race of the victim and the race of the perpetrator were significant with the participants certain of guilty when the perpetrator was White-American. Also, two other notable findings was observed; (1) the participants displayed a narrow understanding of what hate crime involves, so non-typical hate crimes (e.g. vandalism) were not identified, and; (2) the participants made no reference to the victims of hate crimes being innocence, implying they perceive the victims to be in part responsible for their victimisation.

Other jury decision-making studies have suggested legal and extra-legal factors impact on the perception of hate crime. Johnson and Byers (2003) reported that the acceptance or rejection of hate crime laws was affected by whether sexual orientation was included as a defining feature. They reported that people who supported the sentence-enhancing hate crime laws (i.e. laws that mandate increased sentences based on prior convictions and seriousness of the offence), were more in favour of the inclusion of offences against homosexuals, compared to those who opposed the law. Similarly, Dunbar and Molina (2004) found those who advocated policy that safeguarded vulnerable groups were more supportive of hate crime laws.

Plumm, Terrance and Austin (2014) asked 203 college students to adopt the role of a juror in a racially motivated hate crime case. The race of the victim led to the attribution of blame of the victim. When the victim was not identified as a Native American Indian, there was

greater culpability associated to the victim. These results critique the widely held view that out-group bias and victim stigma contributes to the hate crime victimisation. Rather, the study suggests that extra-legal factors (e.g. the location and situation under which the crime takes place), impacts on what is constructed as hate crime.

A Story Telling Approach to Understanding the Perception of Hate Crime

Despite, adding to the knowledge of how hate crimes are conceptualised by different samples in different social and community context, both these approaches (e.g. using questionnaires and jury simulation) suffer from limitations, due to these studies primarily providing participants with scenarios, descriptions, or questionnaires relating to hate crimes. This makes it difficult to ascertain if the visibility of, and attitudes to, hate crimes are shaped by the information provided, rather than the participants prior knowledge, and awareness of hate crimes. Indeed these approaches foreclose on the possible cultural understandings that might exist in a community, by the fact they are limited to the knowledge and imagination of the researcher. One approach that can overcome these limitations is the Story-Completion (SC) method. SC was introduced to qualitative research settings by Kitzinger and Powell (1995), partially to overcome the barriers that self-reporting presents e.g. lack of awareness (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

SC allows the participant to manifest their thoughts, by either 'complete a story' or 'write a story' approach. In the first approach, participants are provided with a story stem: the beginning of a given hypothetical scenario with characters, and are required to complete the details, to show what they feel the story would look like. There is deliberate ambiguity introduced into these 'story stems' to hint at the topic of interest, whilst avoiding specific details of the story, for the participants to 'fill in the blanks' (Clarke et al., 2015). Conversely, in a 'write a story' approach, a story cue is provided, and participants create their own story about the scenario (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Firth (2013) outlines that SC task permits discovery of socially undesirable meanings which would otherwise remain hidden. This is achieved principally through the third-person nature

of SC, as participants can openly express their views and opinions without the comments being attributed to them, or being required to justify themselves (Braun & Clarke, 2013). From this position, SC equips the researcher with an instrument that articulates the participants' perceptions and understands their meaning-making (Clarke et al., 2015). Simultaneously, SC unearths the deeper meanings of a participant's perception, as in qualitative approach to SC, the focus is on the story. This is an inductive way of working, where concepts and meaning-making emerge from the data, rather than being pre-determined.

The participant's response can be either analysed by a quantitative or qualitative approach. The quantitative approach entails standardised coding and statistical analysis of data (see. Steele, Hodges, Kaniuk, Hillman & Henderson, 2003; Torres, Maia, Verissimo, Fernandes & Silva, 2012). In qualitative research, SC can be interpreted through essentialist framework which takes the view that the stories told reflect 'real' world experience, beliefs, motivations, and feelings, regarding a topic (Wood, Wood & Balaam, 2017). This framework is susceptible to a 'reality gap' between the story and the 'actuality', as the stories are not necessarily factual or evidence based, and the topics are studied indirectly (Blow and Hartnett, 2005a). Thus with SC, a vacuum can be created between the hypothetical scenario, and the 'real life' (Clarke et al., 2015).

Braun and Clarke (2013) argue SC is also capable of making other 'different interpretative possibilities more visible than other methods do' (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 156). This is the opportunity SC offers in understanding hate crimes, whereby the possibilities of understanding available to people can be examined. This research was interested in exploring the understanding around, and perceptions of hate crimes, in particular, the similarities and differences between unspecified hate crime, race hate crimes, and religious hate crimes. The participants had to take the perspective of the actors of hate crimes, therefore this is an imagination of the participants. Doing this allowed the exploration of the given stock of knowledge of the general public on the phenomena of hate crime.

Methods

Design

Braun and Clarke (2013) note that SC "are one of the few qualitative data collection methods that are ideally suited to comparative research designs" (2013, p. 146). The SC task in this study was modelled on the story construction work of Finkel and Groscup (1997), where participants were assigned to one of the four cases, hence a 2x2 between participant design. In this study, participants were given one of the nine stories to complete, in a 3x3 between-participant factor designs. The design used within this study was 3 types of hate crimes (race hate crime, religious hate crime, or unspecified hate crime) x 3 actor perspectives (victim, police, and defendant/perpetrator). The various combinations of these factors generated nine different stories that participants were asked to complete; these stories were:

Table. 7.

Actor Perspectives Adopted by the General Public Participant Sample for the Three Hate Crime Types.

		Actor Perspectives		
		Victim	Police	Defendant/Perpetrators
Type of Hate Crime	Unspecified Hate Crime	Story I	Story II	Story III
	Race Hate Crime	Story IV	Story V	Story VI
	Religious Hate Crime	Story VII	Story VIII	Story IX

Material:

Each participant was given a booklet that consisted of one of the three perspectives; race hate crime, religious hate crime, or unspecified hate crime, and asked to write story based on the description provided below:

In each incident a <u>(Insert: victim/police/defendant)</u> claims that a certain crime was committed against them. You are to use your

imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the person who attacked the (Insert: victim/police/defendant) and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during a trial in relation to this crime.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the (Insert: victim/police/defendant) who has accused someone of committing a race hate crime against them."

The complete nine stories that were given to the participants are in the appendices (see. Appendix 2-10).

Participants

A total of seventy-three participants were recruited via opportunity sampling from across the UK, following the study approval from the University of Lincoln, School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (SOPREC). The participants were not rewarded for their participation. Participants age ranged between 18 years and 79 years old (mean age = 37.48: SD = 16.12), with one participant not providing their age. Out of the seventy-three participants, twenty-seven were men and forty-four were women.

The majority of the participants self-identified to be Christian (29 participants; 39.7%), with those with no religious beliefs accounted for 37% (27) of the participants. There were three participants who identified as Sikh (4.1%), two identified as Muslim (2.7%), and one as a Hindu (1.4%). A total of eleven participants (15.1%) did not disclose their religious identity.

The majority of the participants described their ethnic identities as white descendent (58 out of the 73 (81.7%), namely; White British = 54, White Irish = 2, White Scottish = 1, White

Other = 1). Eight participants were of Asian heritage (British Asian Bangladeshi = 1, British Asian Chinese = 1, British Asian Indian = 3, British Asian Pakistani = 2, British Asian Other = 1) relating to 11.3% of the sample. Two participants (2.8%) identified themselves as Black British African, and three participants (4.2%) as mixed ethnicity. Two participants did not complete the ethnicity question.

Procedure

Using an opportunistic sampling method, participants' were recruited by circulating information on social media and university web page (see Appendix. 12). Those who showed interest in the study were invited to the laboratory, or sent the booklets via email, which they completed in person, or emailed in to the researcher on completion. The types of hate crimes were allocated systematically, with Participant 1 completing race hate crime perspectives, Participant 2 completing religious hate crime perspectives, and Participant 3 completing hate crime perspective. The final dataset consisted of 20 hate crime stories, 22 race hate crime stories, and 24 religious hate crime stories, that were used in the final analysis. As described in the material section, the participants were asked to write a story imagining the hate crime event from the particular actor's position.

Consent and Withdrawal

The study was approved by the University of Lincoln, School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (SOPREC). The participants were provided with a booklet that provided background information to the study and outlined the study aims. All participants were required to provide consent by agreeing that they "wish to take part". At the completion of the story completion task, participants were reminded that their participation is voluntary, and they are free to withdraw their data within two-weeks of the completion date.

Analysis of Data: Thematic Analysis

Qualitative approaches are incredibly complex and diverse (Roulston, 2001), and the most common approach within social science is that of Thematic Analysis (TA; see. Braun &

Clarke, 2006; Bryman, 2016; Shepherd, Sanders, Doyle & Shaw, 2015). Empirical data about the social world is collected by asking people to talk or write about and discuss their lives (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). In response to the critique that "anything goes" in qualitative research (Antaki, Young & Finlay, 2002), and the lack of clarity of how the data was analysed, and what assumptions informed the analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001), Braun and Clarke (2006) recommended phases for performing a TA. Without clear methodological guidelines it is invariantly difficult to analyse and evaluate research, and compare or construct research on similar topics or in similar fields in the future (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006),

TA is a method of identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (or themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). These emerging patterns or themes are not arbitrary, as the researcher plays an active role in identifying key themes that are in the interest of the research topic (Taylor & Ushher, 2001). Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012, & 2013) outlined six phases of coding and theme development to understand and draw patterns within the data. TA does not prescribe methods of data collection, theoretical positions, and epistemological or ontological frameworks, rather it just provides a method for data analysis. TA's main advantage comes from the flexibility it offers, as it can be applied to most, if not all qualitative data.

The following analytical procedures were performed for each of the nine stories. Similar to the TA method approach used by Clarke et al. (2015), the researcher in this study, read and re-read the data for initial analytic observations (phase 1). The 'repeated reading' (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87) results in data immersion to increase familiarity and a more in-depth understanding of the data. Following on from the initial stage, the researcher engaged in systematic coding of the data and identifying key features within the dataset (phase 2). These codes were assessed for the features that were more resonant of the research question, whilst ensuring that the full data set was attended to, to check for repeated patterns within the data. The primary focus of this study was to ascertain the general cultural and community understandings and conceptions around hate crimes, especially those relating to the aforementioned strands of hate (race hate crimes, religious hate crimes, and unspecified hate crimes). And so, the initial coding was focused on identifying information on the

demographics, justification, motivation, excuses, and explanation, from contextual features and characteristics of the crime, victim, police, and the perpetrator.

Subsequently, the data was re-analysed to extract whether the participants highlighted core concepts reported in hate crime literature e.g. offender typology (Levin & McDevitt, 1999; McDevitt et al., 2002), enhanced punishment of offenders (Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Levin, 1999), consequences of hate crime (Iganski & Lagou, 2009; Perry & Alvi, 2012), so on and so forth. Finally, the data was further analysed to identify other themes that are, although novel, yet deemed crucial to hate crimes, to add to the field of hate crimes. In essence, all that could be coded as offering insight into hate crimes was coded.

After the coding, the data was reanalysed to examine broader patterns of meanings by combining range of codes that were similar, and/or were pertaining to the same narrative (phase 3). The researcher and the director of study separated all the statements that were identified to denote key features in phase two analysis. This resulted in statements that were reflecting different features of hate crime. These statements were then critically inspected (discussions between researcher and director of study), and those statements that formed a clear narrative were grouped together. The themes were reviewed, and refined themes were generated, discarding any codes that were too diverse, or if they lacked support from other codes (phase 4 and 5). During this phase, the researcher and the director of study were vigilant of any spurious statements e.g. 'it was a nice sunny day' that did not suggest any reference to hate crimes, or provide a deeper understanding of such crimes. All the data was then checked to ensure all the codes denoted a coherent pattern, as well as all ensuring that the themes accurately reflected the entire data set (Clarke et al., 2015). A further check was done that no codes were omitted during the initial stages, and those that were left out were revisited to confirm that they were actually spurious, and did not fit any of the narratives observed. Finally, data extracts were selected, and other analytic notes were knit together and were written in a coherent, analytic narrative, to constitute the final phase of the method (6). In doing this, the themes and sub-themes were closely examined to ensure they illustrate deeper concepts of hate crimes, rather than superficial outcomes of mundane narratives.

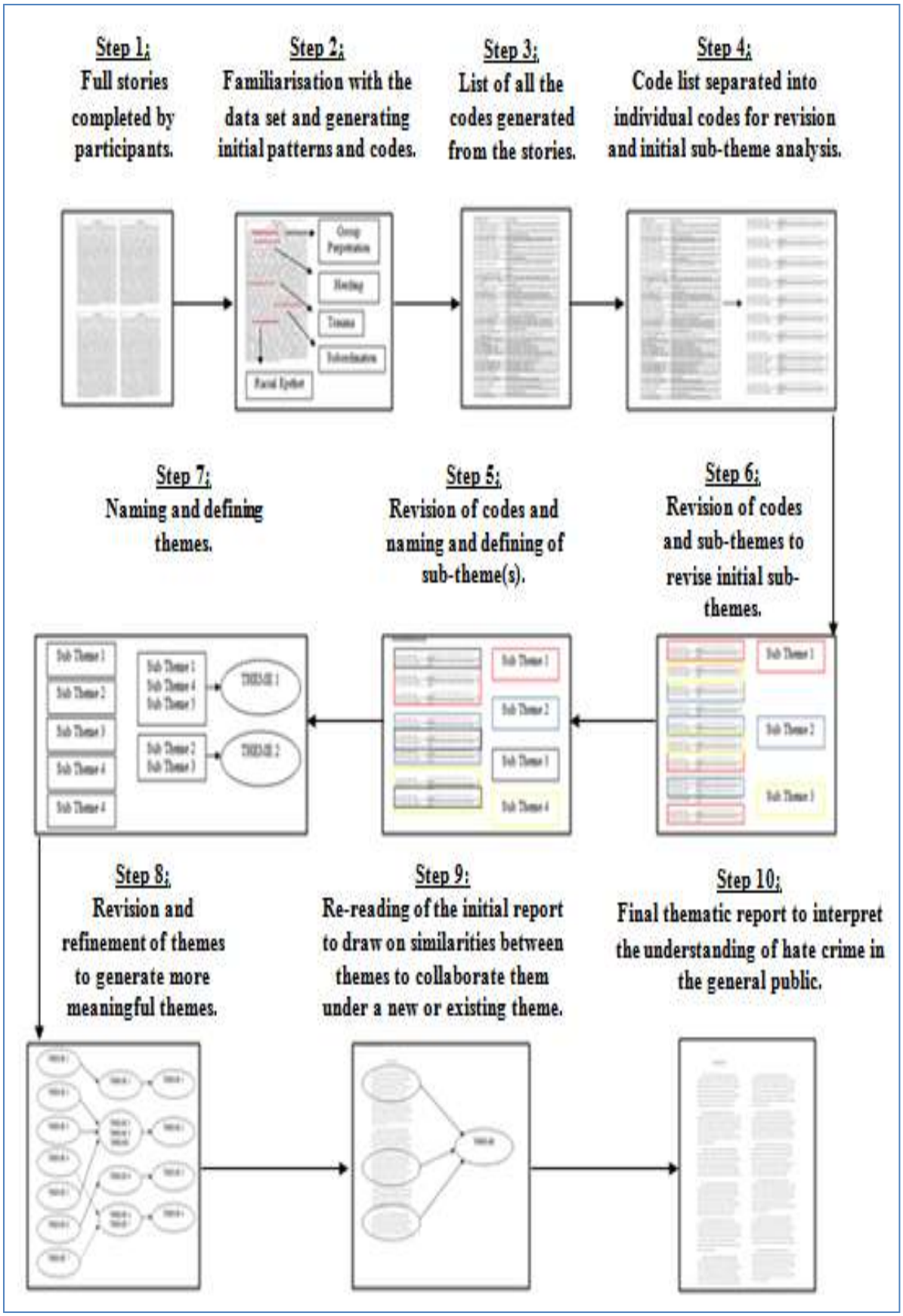

Figure 7. Flowchart of the phases of the thematic analysis.

Overview of Results

The researcher was interested in, and looking for, horizons of possibility – feasible ways of understanding the phenomena under investigation. Therefore, what could be interpreted was plausible and reasonably supported, was interpreted and offered in the thesis. The researcher makes no claims that the interpretations given are exhaustive, nor are they the only interpretations available. These are the best interpretations that the researcher could make, and readers are open to offer other interpretations. Hate crimes grounded in racism, sexism, etc., will evolve, and so there is a need to be sensitive, alert, and not foreclose on other ways of understanding it. It is also acknowledged that these interpretations are possible understandings, and for greater grounding and more secure basis for what is happening in the field of hate crime, more data is required.

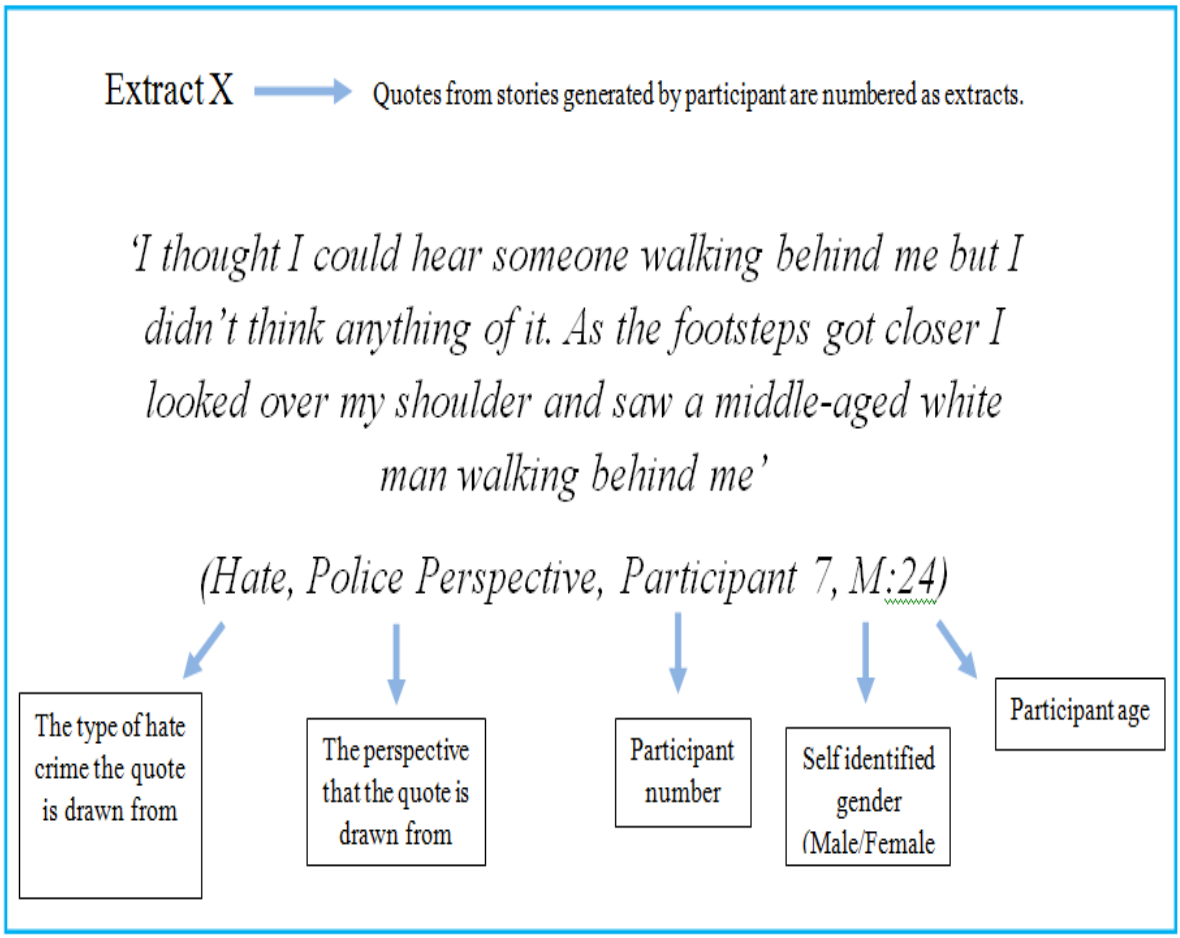

Figure 8. Example of a quote from participants.

Meta-analysis of the themes

When asking people to construct a story about a race, religious, or unspecified hate crime, from the perspective of the victim, police, and a defendant/perpetrator, seven overarching themes are identified: 1) Antagonistic Aspersions, 2) De-Facto Segregation Inclination, 3) De-Legitimisation of Home Status, 4) Aliens, 5) Normalisation of Hate Environment, 6) Action Accounting, and 7) Police Competency. These themes are examined and discussed in detail under separate sub-headings, including definitions of the theme, and sub-plots within it, before providing a narrative descriptive of the respective theme content, with evidence from the actual story completions. Following this, the seven themes will be merged together, to provide a simplified overview of how these themes may link together, to potentially explain the understanding of hate crimes, and which theme is central to this understanding. It should be noted that here, like other qualitative analyses (see. Gliebs, Sonnenberg & Haslam, 2014; Rohlfing & Sonnenberg, 2016), there is a degree of overlap between themes, as participants draw upon concepts outlined in hate crime literature such as 'us vs. them', intergroup competition, as well as subordination or marginalisation of minority groups, when presenting their imagination of an hate crime event.

4.1 Antagonistic Aspersions

The themes of "*Hate inscription*" (feature that distinctly demarcate the incident as hate motivated), "*Threatening –Out group*" (victims being constructed as dangerous), *"Defendant as extremist" (*extreme ideological world view circulated and adopted in parts of society), and, "F*ifth Column Construction" (*infiltrated by malevolent groups), can be understood to construct the meta-theme "*Antagonistic Aspersions".* By *'Antagonistic Aspersions'*, this meta-theme indicates that in the stories of race, religious, and unspecified hate crime, there is an operating active opposition and hostility, on the reputation and integrity on identity. For identity, the adoption Cornel West definition is insightful here (Race matters).

> "… a heuristic definition … identity is fundamentally about desire and death… desire for recognition; quest for visibility… the sense of being acknowledged; a deep desire for association-what Edward Said would call affiliation. It's the longing to belong, a deep, visceral need that most linguistically conscious animals who transact with an environment (that's us) participate in. And then there is a profound desire for protection, for security, for

safety, for surety. And so in talking about identity we have to begin to look at the various ways in which human beings have constructed their desire for recognition, association, and protection…. But identity [also has to do with death… because we have, given our inevitable extinction, to come up with a way of endowing ourselves with significance. So we'll weave webs of existential meaning" West, 1993 (p. 20-21).

With West's heuristic definition of identity, an understanding of how '*antagonistic aspersions'* can be understood as an identity issue from the perspective of the victim(s), and the perspective of the defendant/perpetrator(s) is afforded.

Table 8

A Mapping of the Themes within 'Antagonistic Aspersions' and West's Conceptualisation of Identity.

	Identity Characteristics		**Identity Work in Relation to the Meta-Theme from the Stories**	
	Motivation	**End Goal**	**From the Victim Perspective**	**From the Defendant / Perpetrators Perspective**
Desire	Recognition	Visibility	Meta–Theme *Hate Inscription* Not having differences accepted	Denying victim their differences
	Acknowledgement	Affiliation / Belonging	Meta–Theme *Seen as Fifth-Column* Seen as not one of Us	Enhance in-group identity
	Protection	Security / Safety	Meta–Theme *Threatening out-group* Hostile environment Vulnerable	Protecting & Securing Status
Death	Existential Meaning	Endowing life with significance and meaning	Meta-Theme- *Extreme Worldview from the Defendant / Perpetrator* Challenging and taking away world view	Enhancing legitimising myths

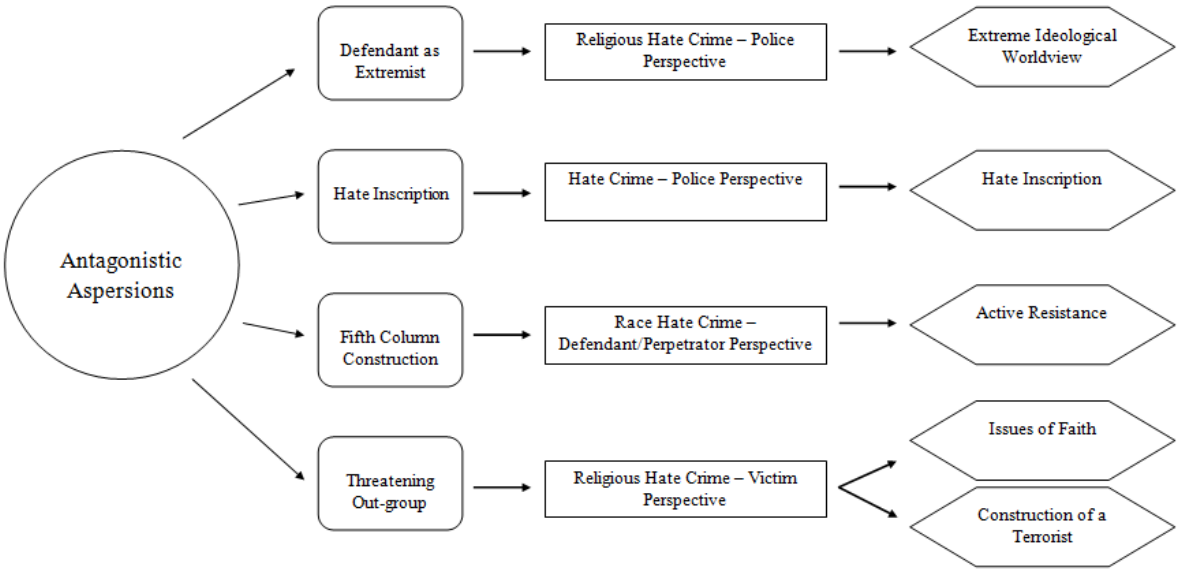

Figure 9. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of antagonistic aspersions, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 9

Names and Definition of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of Antagonistic Aspersions

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
Antagonistic Aspersions	Defendant as Extremist	An extreme dislike of outsiders governed by a desire to cause intense suffering.	• Extreme Ideological Worldview	• Expected feelings of loathing and antipathy towards the victim.
	Hate Inscription	Parents a notion whereby feature indicates that a hate crime has taken place.		• Evidence of perpetrators rejection of differences perceived between them and the victim.
	Fifth Column Construction	Out-group existence perceived to displace the in-group leading to retributive action and defence.	• Active Resistance	• Overt or clandestine acts by the victim to undermine society. • Provoked for resist the need to protect their resources.
	Threatening Out-Group	Existence of a dangerous outsider.	• Issues of Faith • Construction of a Terrorist	• Recognise attacker is targeting their faith. • Willing to use violence within the community.

4.11 Theme 1: Defendant as Extremist

One of themes to resonate when participants think about a religious hate crime event, is that of the defendant/perpetrators having an extremist outlook towards outsiders. For the stories about police responding to a religious hate crime, it is imagined that the police will encounter defendant/perpetrators of these crimes to have an extremist mindset.

Extract 1: *'Jews were to be hated and despised – that's what he has always been told' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 4, M:49)*

Extract 2: *'I immediately recognised the man, Stephen O'Connell, aged 22, he is well known to us in the local force as a persistent trouble maker, with links to far-right Protestant activities, racial-hate groups, and he also runs a neo-Nazi website, from which he distributes his racial and religious ranting…Stephen's flat was searched…we (police) found documents of bomb making, a Google-map print out showing the location of the synagogue, and some rather unpleasant WW2 photographs of the Auschwitz gas chambers and furnaces' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 20, M:45)*

Sub-Theme 1: Extreme Ideological Worldview

Extreme ideological worldview and violence motivated by personal religious beliefs, and the rejection of other religions and its followers, is not a new phenomenon (Loza, Abd-El-Fatah, Prinloo, Hesselink-Louw & Seidler, 2011). There is evidence of extremist acts and violence across the globe by different religious groups (Qin, Zhou & Chen, 2011).

From the stories told about what the police will encounter in interacting with defendant/perpetrator, it is expected that feelings of loathing towards the victim should be apparent, for instance;

Evidence of historical extremist behaviour:

Extract 3: *'The youths who were accused had a history of racial assaults so it is clear in this case that it was a racially motivated attack' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

Extract 4: *'The defendant has a history of discrimination against religious groups different to his own and attacked the victim simply based on a subjective judgement that the victim practiced a certain religion' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 24, F:No Age)*

Manifest behaviours of intolerance – verbal or physical:

Extract 5: *'The accused used verbal and physical aggression towards me and was clear that the reason for this was my faith as a Christian' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 22, F:46)*

Extract 6: *'Criminal damage was caused to the car and the words written were referring to the religion of the person who owned the car' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 23, M:49)*

No other viable motive apparent:

Extract 7: *'There is no doubt in mind that this attack was religiously motivated' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 6, M:52)*

Extract 8: *'With such clear evidence of the attack and no clear motive for said attack except that of racial discrimination' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 17, F:20)*

Premeditated:

Extract 9: *'We know that this was part of an orchestrated attempt to force the protestant family from the mainly catholic estate, and it was a religious hate crime, but we have been unable to prove this as the defendant claims it was a low level personal dispute' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 8, M:50)*

Concrete, specific experience:

Extract 10: *'The defendant was a young, male…with an obvious hate for Muslims. He took the opportunity to violently set upon an innocent woman just because she was wearing an outfit that identified her as a Muslim…He was involved in the London bombing and this is possibly where his hatred for Muslims stems from' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 15, F:30)*

Extract 11: *'…male from the Muslim community aged 40ish had come running into the store saying that he was being chased by 4 white males who had been shouting offensive comments at the male directed at his religion' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 21, M:19)*

Ritual Chanting of abuse (iterative abusive language in a rhythmic style):

Extract 12: *'statements were taken from witnesses who all said that it was an unprovoked attack and the defendants were chanting anti-Semitic words at the victims and friends' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 1, F:52)*

Extract 13: *'They chanted hateful words, and pushed then threw some objects' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 14, M:24)*

For participants perspective, it can be seen that they imagine certain features that may indicate an extremist outlook, these being a) no other viable motive for their action, b) the defendant having a historical predisposition of loathing towards the group, c) clear evidence

that it is premeditated, d) the response from the victim, especially if it is indicating fear of their lives, and e) some general behaviours of negative kind towards the victims because of their protected characteristics, including in that is chanting specifically.

This sub-theme may reflect the understanding of the 'internal norms and rules' of the group as theorised in SIT (Reynolds, Subasic & Tindall, 2015). According to the theory, there are implicit and explicit expectations for how members think and behave (Ellemers, Pagliaro & Barreto, 2013), therefore an out-groups way of life (e.g. following a certain faith) can be perceived to be incompatible with the values of the in-group. This difference can signify the *outsider* status of out-group members in the minds of the in-group, leading to victimisation motivated specifically by the fact that the victim does not share 'oneness' with the in-group e.g. same religious beliefs.

Alternatively, the actions of the defendant/perpetrators within the stories are channelled towards subordinating out-groups to a reduced position through mistreatment of the group members. The *"unprovoked attacks"* (Extract 12) may then be a way to show the group low on social dominance (as they are a minority e.g. Muslims) of their place within society, by using violence to maintain group-based hierarchy. In this way, the in-group reiterate to the perceived out-group that they are undesirable and unwelcome, and subordinate them to a lower position in society (see. Perry, 2001), whilst emphasising the social dominance of the in-group and maintaining social hierarchy within society.

However, Hogg (2014) notes that individuals can adopt extremist ideologies to gain a sense of identity and inclusiveness as opposed to increasing the prestige of the in-group. When individuals experience identity uncertainty related to the self, they are more likely to endorse the values of highly distinctive groups that have well defined attitudinal and behavioural attributes (see. Hogg, 2007). Groups that have strong and directive leadership with ideological and ethnocentric belief systems, can be seen as highly distinct and salient, thus providing a sense of identity under identity crisis (Hogg, 2014; Hogg, Siegel & Hohman, 2011). The actions led by these extremist ideologies may only be an avenue to reduce the uncertainty felt by the individuals, and gain a sense of self and belonging, as validation into

these groups is difficult due to the 'closedness' of these groups (Rothenberger, Muller & Elmezeny, 2018; Taylor & Louis, 2004). The extremist values and behaviours may be adopted until an individual finds a more salient group that is 'open' to join and the identity can be validated.

The description by Participant 24, whereby the victim was attacked merely because of a *"subjective judgement"* that they practised a *"certain religion"*, suggests the defendant/perpetrators actions are motivated by 'ambiguity intolerance' (i.e. the level of intolerance a person exhibits towards ambiguous objects or situations). Ambiguity intolerance is central to ITT, as any complex or ambivalent stimulus in the environment will be assed as a symbolic and/or realistic threat by the observer (see. Chen & Hoojiberg, 2000; Swami, Barron, Weis, & Furnham, 2018), therefore they are more likely to engage in violence to reduce the level of threat experienced.

In contrast, SIT and SDT asserts that the existence of an out-group affects the positive appraisal, and social dominance of the in-group, therefore individuals are more likely to engage in out-group discrimination, to enhance self-esteem, or reiterate the social hierarchy. To explain further, the existence of an out-group can affect the identity of the in-group, therefore groups can become highly entitative through redefining the boundaries, attributes, and goals of the in-group, to accentuate the distinctiveness of the in-group (Hogg, 2014). The redefined values and goals are in the interest of in-group, as well as its members, that reaffirm the social dominance of the in-group, in comparison to an out-group.

Of note in this sub-theme is the participants understanding of religious hate crimes, in that the terms race and religious hate crime to be used interchangeably. This is also true when participants imagine a race hate crime story, where they present alterative accounts of race and religiously motivated incidents when constructing a hate crime stories based on these two biases. Although, this story-completion sought the construction of religious hate crime, the participants have attributed these crimes as *'racially motivated'* or highlighting *'racial discrimination'*. The discrepancy in understanding the difference between race and religious hate crimes may be reflected in the high numbers of race hate crimes reported to the police

compared to other hate crimes. In October 2017, the Home Office released the official data on hate crimes in England and Wales. It was reported that 78% of hate crimes were race hate crimes, compared to only 7% that were investigated to be motivated by religious hatred. If religious hate crimes are reported as race hate crimes, then it invariably under-represents the problem that religious hate crimes present in England and Wales. However, as noted, participants also story events motivated by religious hate crimes when thinking about race hate crimes, thus this should counterbalance the large number of race hate crime cases reported.

This study was not about actual cases of hate crimes evident in society, rather it was about the imagination and perceptions surrounding these crimes, and so, the understanding in this study cannot conclude interchangeable use of race and religion in trends relating to actual hate crime events, especially if a certain identity of the victim is more salient (i.e. race or religious) than the other. Yet, these stories reveal that in the minds of the general public, race and religious hate crimes are similar, so the underlying motivation needs to be deciphered by the police when recording these crimes, especially if race and religious motivation is similarly interchangeable in actual reporting of hate crimes. The problem is further compounded by the limited resources available to the police in investigating and solving hate crimes, perhaps leading to higher number of race hate crimes, as race motivation is easier to prove than religious bias, perhaps because race is a clear and fixed quality of identity (Goodall, 2007).

4.12 Theme 2: Hate Inscription

In constructing how the police might report, or respond to an incident of unspecified hate crime, suggesting a hate crime undertone (inscription), the stories idea that a particular victim was spotlighted for a particular act. In other words, it is storied that the police would carry out some form of concordance analysis, where they marry up the act committed, with what they would consider the features of the victims. In this way, the police are understood to conclude whether the act committed, was against any of the attributes associated with the protected hate crime groups. The ability to explicitly inscribe an incident as potential hate crime is foregrounded. So, in the story told there was some indication that the motive of the incident was hate-driven, hence raising a *'suspicion'* (Extract 15) that the incident was *'suspected'* (Extract 14) to be a hate crime.

Extract 14: *'A local pub informed me and my colleagues there looked like there had been some trouble with a group of young boys. Names were taken and we carried on with our checks. It began to seem like a suspected hate crime…He (the defendant) was at his home and charged with suspicion of using hate crime towards another individual' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 16, F:20)*

Extract 15: *'The boys had been pestering a young girl of Eastern origin…there are suspicions that this may have been a race or religious hate crime' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 17, F:21)*

It is inherently difficult to ascertain the hate motivation behind crimes, especially in the absence of clear indication of hate e.g. racial insults or racial abuse towards the victim at the time of the incident (see. Boyd et al., 1996; Garland & Chakraborti, 2012). Therefore, signs of hate motivation need to be identified either by the victim (as heard in the below statement), witness, or the police, when investigating the crime to record the crime as constituting a hate crime, rather than a parallel crime.

Extract 16: *'He says he was followed and then attacked by a middle aged white man in what he describes as a racial hate crime' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 7, M:24)*

The College of Policing (2014) suggests that hate crimes is any criminal offence which is perceived to be motivated by the perpetrator hostility or prejudice towards the victim, based on the five monitored strands. The key inclusion in this definition is the perception of the victim, or any other person, that the victimisation is an outcome of the perpetrators bias. Thus, if hate is perceived to be the motive, then the police are compelled to investigate the crime as a hate crime.

This hate inscription can be seen with the participants narrating from the police perspective that individuals are targeted based on their 'perceived difference'.

Extract 17: *'John Parsons has a hatred of Muslims. He has committed lots of anti-social behaviour e.g. throwing bacon at Mosques in the city, smashing windows at newsagents and daubing doors with "Muslim bombers"' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 1, F:47)*

Extract 18: *'The centre of discrimination was due to her choice of clothing that symbolises her religion, and also because of her beliefs of not eating meat' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

So from the police perspective, the stories highlight the need for an acknowledgement that hate crime victimisation is based on recognising the perpetrator's rejection of what is *perceived* to be significant difference between them (defendant/perpetrator) and the victim. This then designates such people as the *'Other'* (people who are seen to be 'different' to oneself and members of a despised out-group). So the police are seen to be seeking evidence of the explicit hatred toward a defendant, that accord to this perception. In these stories, the Othering is highlighted with anti-Muslim activities, such as *"throwing bacon at mosques"*, and graffiti expressing Muslims to be *'bombers'* (Extract 17), or targeting people because of their religious dress.

One key characteristic of this hate inscription as imagined by the participants, understands a police perspective to take the repeated targeting of the same victim an indicator of hate crimes.

Extract 19: *'Davy (the defendant) has a history of assaults logged against his name with the police' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 2, M:57)*

Extract 20: *'As this wasn't the first time Sophie was being harassed by this group of young boys, the police had to take this incident seriously' (Hate, Police perspective, Participant 10, F:27)*

The ordinariness of hate crimes can sometimes mean that these crimes are not reported to the police and law enforcement (Chakraborti, 2014). There is an understanding that a threshold exist by which the police are seen to operate, whereby an incident becomes a hate crime. Extract 19 highlights this understanding with the comment that the defendant had a *"history of assaults"*, while Extract 20 assumes that the police are more likely to consider any *"incident seriously"* when it is not the *"first time"* a person is victimised.

4.13 Theme 3: Fifth Column Construction

This theme pertains to the idea that the victimised group will be seen by defendant/perpetrators as undermining society. As such, part of the out-group constructions of the victims is seen to be the threat to both the dominant group, and the nation, by surreptitiously infiltrating, replacing, or subverting accepted social practices, and structures.

The stories imagined from defendant thus talk about being displaced;

Extract 21: *'Let's face it they (foreigners) take all our jobs' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 2, F:36)*

Extract 22: *'The defendant called Daz had recently lost his job and felt that cheaper migrant workers were to blame for him being unable to get another job, they had been discussing this in the pub and therefore were fuelled up on hate for foreigners and drink inflamed the fight' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 15, F:48)*

There is an overt perception of an out-group usurping and encroaching on the rights of the defendant/perpetrator, illustrated by the statement *"(foreigners) take all our (their) jobs"* (Extract 21). For other participants, there is a sense that the plight of the defendant/perpetrator (e.g. being out of employment) is because of the *"cheap migrant workers"*, leading to *"hate fuelled up for foreigners"* (Extract 22), therefore suggesting how and why the in-group delineate the motives and actions of out-group to be a conspiracy against them. The omnipresence of the fifth column is reflected in Extract 15, with the

participant referring to the hearsay, that migrant group members were culpable for lack of employment. Thus, this 'evidence' is sufficient to induce fifth column paranoia, and consequential hate in the in-group.

Extract 23: *'I'm not a racist, I didn't do anything to that Muslim girl. She was trying to break into my dad's garage, there's been loads of break ins down that alley; my dad had a whole load of his tools nicked last month, and we know who took them, it's the young men from the Paki family…they are well known for nicking stuff and then selling it in their second hand shop – everyone around here knows that. That girl had a set of worn keys and she was jingling them around in the lock trying to open the garage, once she'd opening it, her male cousin would have then come along and got my bike – bastards, I hate them. Anyway, I jumped out and surprised her, and she fled down the alley, I caught up with her, and tried to stop her, running by holding onto her shoulder, but her headscarf came off because she was trying to get away. She then lashed out at me with the set of keys that were still in her hand, I pushed her away as I didn't want to get gouged by the keys. I'm not racist, and I was only trying to stop more of our stuff getting nicked by the family' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, M:53)*

The notion of an out-group coming into society and acting underhandedly is echoed in Extract 23. In the context of telling the story, clearly the implication is that members of a group not seen to be one of 'Us' are appropriators. So, in thinking of the defendant/perpetrators of race hate crimes, the participants suggest these people feel that they are being replaced. This suggests a notion similar to the 'internal' element of Fifth Column (see. Prysor, 2005), whereby there is overarching paranoia that insincere traitors and sympathisers of an out-group, are involved in sabotaging the in-group, and taking valuable resources from them.

Extract 24: *'I have lived in Nottingham all my life and always been in employment until I was made redundant. I have a family to support and thought that if I tried to make her feel unwelcome, I might get more of a chance of getting a job' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 2, F:36)*

Extract 25: *'She looked dangerous so I stopped her and asked her to remove it as she was living in Britain not the Middle East' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Extract 26: '*"…rise of Islamic state, it is clear they're all in it together. These Muslims act against the IS however this is just an act. A cover up their plan to take over Britain'" (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 12, M:22)*

Extract 27: *'The defendant called Daz had recently lost his job and felt that cheaper migrant workers were to blame for him being unable to get another job, they had been discussing this in the pub and therefore were fuelled up on hate for foreigners and drink inflamed the fight' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 15, F:48)*

These accounts tell of the defendant/perpetrators sensing danger from the victim group, and can be seen to draw on the 'White Replacement Theory' (Scwartzburg, 2019), which refers to the beliefs that White people will be systematically replaced by Black and Brown people. The 'White Replacement Conspiracy Theory' is a combination of 'The Great Replacement Theory' and the 'White Genocide Theory', which argues the White Supremacist and far-right ideology, that the 'western' identity is under siege from non-white and non-European countries, leading to the replacement of White and European individuals. The second claim in this theory, is that there are groups in society that are working to 'take-over' the world, and create a racially homogenous society. However, this replacement may be experienced due to resource strain and competition experienced by individuals. As can be seen in Extract 27, the defendant/perpetrators are told to hold the victims as culpable for their situation, as well as being *"unable to get another job"*. It can be understood that those who commit race hate crimes attribute the blame to the out-group, in an effort to perhaps justify their actions by arguing to *'defend the turf'* (McDevitt et al., 2002), as it was being infiltrated by those who are non-native, and do not belong.

Sub-Theme 1: Active Resistance

Following the perception that the victims have hostile takeover motive, the sub-plot in this theme stories the defendant/perpetrators to be proactive in countering the efforts of the victim

group by defensive reactivity – seen as the "prime evasive action in the present of threat cues" (Kramer, Patrick, Krueger & Gasperi, 2012).

Extract 28: *'I have a family to support and thought that if I tried to make her feel unwelcome, I might get more of a chance of getting a job' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 2, F:36)*

Extract 29: *'I didn't even say anything wrong, I was only driving by and they looked at me, I was defending my dignity' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 3, M:22)*

Extract 30: *'I heard him shouting at the cashier and I knew he was going to get nasty because they all do. I wanted to shut him up and help out. I mean my great grandfather died because of people like him' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 4, F:20)*

Extract 31: *'I wanted to take no risks so defended not only myself but my country too' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 12, M:22)*

Extract 32: *'We don't need any more trouble like her kind trying to blow up the country. So really just did it to protect the people of Lincoln. People need to stand up for their own kind' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 17, F:26)*

All the extracts point towards a sense of threat experienced at the hands of out-groups and its members, who are perceived to take over valuable assets from the in-group. Similar to defensive hate crimes, whereby *'offenders are provoked by a need to protect their resources under conditions they consider to be threatening'* (McDevitt et al., 2002, p. 3). Similarly, ITT theorises that subordination of individuals stems from a sense of threat to scarce resources from existing out-groups, who are seen to impinge or invade possessions and positions, of which the in-group is adjudged the rightful owner. In support, Extract 30 narrates the defendant/perpetrators justifying their actions as a rear-guard response, rather than a hate crime, indicating the view of perceiving a real, actual threat from the victim.

Defensive reactivity is said to be related to fearfulness and cue-specific fear (Dvorak-Bertsch, Curtin, Rubenstein & Newman, 2009). In this theme, it is imagined that the defendant/perpetrator would attempt to make their target feel *"unwelcome"* (Extract 28), *"take no risk and so defended"* themselves (Extract 31), and *"stand up for their own kind"* (Extract 32). So an 'Us vs. Them' understanding creates an out-group that is seen as depleting, displacing, and stealing resources. In line with ITT, the extracts support that behavioural responses follow threat presented by the 'Other', and so, the actions are justified by the perpetrators by arguing that they were being looted of their resources and values. Extract 30 and 32 indicate feelings of threat to the very existence of the in-group members, with defendant/perpetrators storied to attribute loss of family members (i.e. grandfather), or the need to protect in-group members from out-groups who *"blow up the country"*.

4.14 Theme 4: Threatening Out-Group

Another theme that is evident when thinking of religious hate crimes, and how victims may perceive such, is concerned with particular aspects of the victim's identity being framed. The insincerity and ominous nature of the group is recited by the participants, when presenting how the defendant/perpetrators might see them.

Sub-Theme 1: Issue of Faith

One of the things that is seen when thinking about the victim perspective of religious hate crimes, is that they will recognise their attacker as targeting their faith because of them seeing it as an issue, and having characteristic that would subvert the present world view. Hence, actions are taken to resist its possibility.

Extract 33: *'At the end of the night we were walking through town a group of 6 youths, 2 of whom I recognised from the jostling incidents ran and pulled our skull caps off our heads' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 1, F:52)*

Extract 34: *'I was set upon by a gang of white youths, I assume because I am Muslim… of a sudden, I felt something pulling at my headscarf…They were saying some horrible abusive*

things about me and my religion whilst kicking me and spitting at me' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)

Extract 35: *'The comments were those aimed at my religion as I was dressed from head to foot in my religious attire. The comments were extremely offensive to myself and the Muslim community' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 21, M:19)*

Extract 36: *'I was giving out invitations to an event run by my church…He (defendant) shouted abuse at me saying I don't want none of your church stuff, you f…king Christians make me sick' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 22, F:46)*

Extract 37: *'I looked at my car and it had been scratched with the words "kill Muslims"' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 23, M:49)*

In this theme, the participants show awareness of how the religious identity, and the religious dress of the victim, may exemplify their difference and outsider status.

Extract 38: *'John (defendant) has threatened to force feed bacon, which Abdullah (victim) is not allowed as part of my religion' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 12, M:25)*

Certainly, the religion of the victim is an overt indication of the dislike of the victims religious identity, with the defendant/perpetrator saying *"some horrible abusive things"* (Extract 35), passing *"extremely offensive"* comments (Extract 35), or shouting *"you f…king Christians make me sick"* (Extract 36).

Although the extract cited made reference to Judaism (*"skull cap"*), and Christianity, the majority of the incidence described by all the participants claim the victim were Muslims, so it is this dimension, rather than being religious, that can be seen as the main feature of this theme. The Jewish community is marginalised and segregated much like the Muslim community (Craig, 2002; Kielinger & Paterson, 2007). Despite that, the victimisation of Jews

and anti-Semitic violence has received little attention in the UK (see. Egorova & Ahmed, 2017; Jaspal, 2016; Toczek, 2015), in addition to the police force under-recording hate crimes against the Jewish community (Kushner, 2013; Whine, 2009). Like Muslims, the Jewish religious identity is visible through the kippah (skull cap) worn, at least by Orthodox Jews. Therefore, the historical anti-Semitic sentiment coupled with their visible identity, has led to increase in anti-Semitic hate crimes (see. Iganski, 2013; King & Sutton, 2013). But, the distinction between these extracts is clear, Muslims and Jewish religions mere presence, and the obviousness of their religion, was provocation to the defendant/perpetrator.

Sub-Theme 2: Construction of a Terrorist

When thinking of victim perspective of religious hate crimes, the participants tell a story of the victim of a religious hate crime understanding that they have been constructed as a terrorist.

Extract 39: *'Due to the media influence, they (the defendants) assumed Sikh man was a Muslim terrorist, he had a long beard and wore a turban' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Victim Perspective, Participant 3, F:23)*

Extract 40: *'He started shouting racial abuse and started pushing him (the victim) as he tried walk past and then hit him whilst shouting that he was a "terrorist' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 5, F:20)*

Extract 41: *'my son was wearing a small child's backpack…one of the boys shouted "maybe it's a bomb, it's a suicide bomber, quick everybody run…same boy that shouted about backpack having a bomb ran after us…shouted "run paki, or we'll come and blow your house up"' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 11, F:44)*

Extract 42: *'I was sat at a train station with my bags when a young man approached me, asking what I had in my bags. I ignored him…He kicked my bag and spat on it, accusing me of having a bomb and being a terrorist' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 15, F:30)*

Extract 43: *'First they were shouting abuse from across the road, calling me a terrorist and other horrible names…saying horrible things…don't do that mate, she might have a bomb under there! one of the youths said' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

The construction of being a terrorist is exemplified where Extract 41 tells that ownership of a *"backpack"* leads to raising questions that *"maybe it's a bomb"*, before labelling the victim by calling them a *"suicide bomber"*. Additionally, given the use of backpacks in terrorist attacks (e.g. London underground bombing), a Muslim with a backpack appears to be an archetype symbol of religious violence. The social construction of a modern day terrorist is complete when Extract 39 narrates, that if the victim had a *"long beard and wore a turban"*, they are likely to be seen as a *"Muslim terrorist"*. Ahluwalia and Zaman (2009) report that the media have displayed images of terrorists focussing on names that sound Muslim, and images of men that appear Muslim e.g. wear a turban and have long beards. These images of Muslim men being synonymous with terrorism has led to the misidentification of Sikh men as Muslims (Kwan, 2008), consequently, both Muslims and Sikhs find themselves susceptible to negative physical and psychological outcomes, following abuse and hate crimes (Kaplan, 2006; Poynting & Perry, 2007).

Fischer, Greitemeyer and Kastenmuller (2007) inform, Muslims may be considered more aggressive than other religious groups as they are intrinsically more religious (as many Muslims are willing to sacrifice their lives in the name of religion), their religious identity is more important to them given they resist secularisation, and lastly, because of their execution of Western hostages, and the claim of defending the faith by extremist leaders (e.g. Osama Bin Laden). All these assumptions along with negative media representation of the Muslim community as dangerous (Aguayo, 2009), then places Muslims in a vulnerable position of being labelled a terrorist, or having an affiliation with extremist groups, whilst endorsing fundamental interpretation of Islam. At a more local level, the Muslim identity then becomes a representation of radical Islam, and is subjected to harsh treatment in the form of religious hate crimes, usually seen as deserved, as a reciprocation of all the atrocities committed by violent Islamic groups.

Muslims have a salient social identity, with individuals following Islam reported to define themselves in terms of their religious affiliation (i.e. Muslims), over other identities (Elliot & Chittenden, 2001; Roy, 2004). This strong group affiliation of the minority, and salient social identity on religious grounds, can disrupt the positive appraisal of the dominant in-group, thus leading to anxiety, as positive comparisons between the host group and an 'out-group' is not possible (Brewer, 199; Brewer, 2007). Members of the host group may then engage in out-group derogation to draw on other social comparisons (e.g. power), to redefine boundaries, and restore the positive distinctiveness of the group (Turner, Hewstone, Voci & Vonofakou, 2008). In-group members may then experience unprovoked victimisation, as they are not targeted by 'hate' towards their immutable difference, or difference more generally, but due to their membership in a certain group (see. Walters, 2011).

4.2 De-Facto Segregation Inclination

De-facto segregation refers to the existence in a society of a system that is unsupported or sanctioned by the law, for the separation of groups perceived to be different from each other (see. Frankenberg & Taylor, 2018; Rothstein, 2015). In reviewing the themes, what can be read is an 'inclination' toward a de-facto segregation, which can be underpinned by the enforcing of 'White Spaces' (Anderson, 2015). Namely, people seen as the 'other'/out-group are required to navigate features of space as a condition of their existence, due to the way they have been constructed as not one of us - White. So with the theme of '*Kettling'*, victims of hate attacks are understood to have an awareness of being confined to a certain space, while defendant/perpetrators are constructed to view their ecological environment as in a *'Field of Turbulence',* whereby their White Space is being displaced, and they needing to assert their rights. These two latter claims constitute the theme of '*Determine Ownership'*, whereby the defendant/ perpetrators is seen as engaged in defending their possession of inalienable entitlement, due to their identity/race. Thus, the actions of defendant/perpetrators are seen to be a way to reduce intergroup anxiety, and restore the race relations between the dominant in-group and the subordinate out-group (see. Perry, 2001).

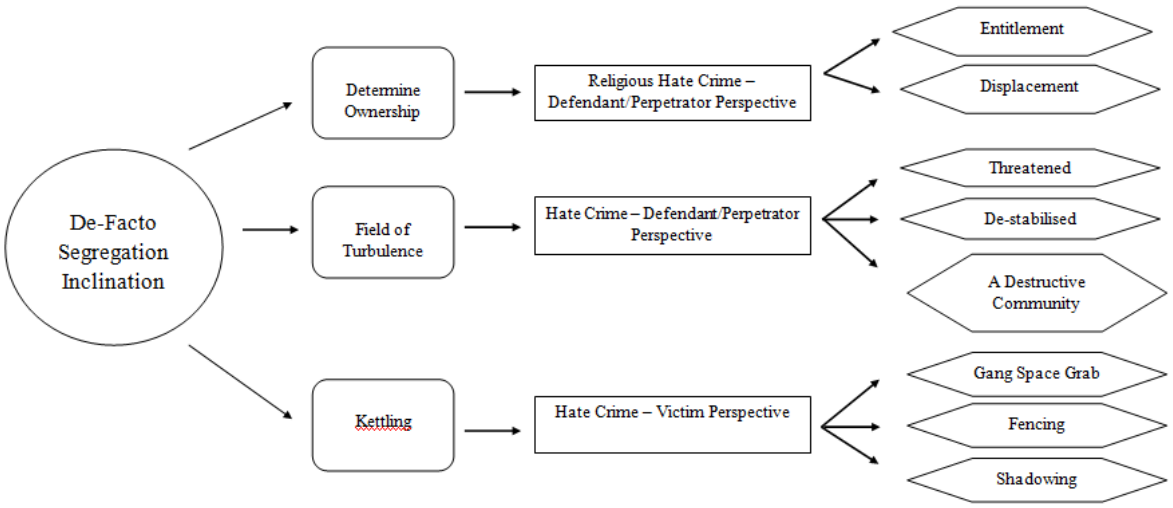

Figure 10. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of de-facto segregation inclination, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 10

Names and Definition of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of De-Facto Segregation Inclination.

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
De-facto Segregation Inclination	Determine Ownership	Claims and takes action to define one's self as worthy owner.	• Entitlement	• The belief that inherently deserving of privileges or special treatment compared to the victim.
			• Displacement	• Defendant/perpetrators identify themselves as being displaced.
	Field of Turbulence	Status quo under threat / being challenged.	• Threatened	• Intergroup anxiety and consequential threat.
			• Destabilised	• A sense of being *displaced*.
			• A destructive community	• The existence of a corrosive and damaging community in public life.
	Kettling	The view that victim's space is negated and reduced by defendant/perpetrator. The sense of victim being confined to a certain space.	• Gang Space Grab	• Sense that transition from one space to another is an aspect of community life and groups feel empowered to contest.
			• Fencing	• Close-up encircling of victim.
			• Shadowing	• Victims sense their movements are being tracked.

4.21 Theme 1: Determine Ownership

Sub-Theme 1: Entitlement

Entitlement refers to the amount of reward that a person or a group feel they should receive in a given social environment, or in certain social situations (Anastasio & Rose, 2014; Yuchtman-Yaar, 1982). Within these religious hate stories about the defendant/perpetrators, it is imagined that there would be sense of entitlement, which is thought to be more warranted for the defendant, than the person they attack.

Extract 44: *'They may feel entitlement to free speech…guilty to hate crime – caused distress and partook in slander' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 9, F:31)*

Extract 45: *'We [defendant/perpetrator] were minding our own business, just sat chatting when an Asian woman with two kids came to the park…The woman had one of those scary things that covered her head so you couldn't really see her face…she told us to go…we had as much right to be there as she did, more because it was our country, we were born here and could go where we wanted' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 11, F:44)*

Extract 46: *'I was standing with my colleagues in the street minding my own business, when this guy walked up to me and said "what are you lot doing in my country? Go back home" (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 13, M:44)*

Extract 47: *'This is our country, if other races and religion want to come here, they should abide by our rules' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

Extract 48: *'…they come to our country and build on our land to pray to a God that doesn't exist' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 19, F:22)*

Extract 49: *'He [victim] turned to talk to the man and he [defendant/perpetrator] punched him[victim] in the stomach because he [defendant/perpetrator] thought I was out of work idiot and should be paying my taxes. The defendant replied that he was working and he*

wasn't having his taxes pay for someone who isn't British and Christian' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 24, F:No Age)

According to O'Brien and Major (2009), the feelings of entitlement is dependent on two key mechanisms; social comparison process and system-justification. O'Brien and Major further argue that bias in the perception of the in-group outcomes as supposed to out-group outcomes, in addition to past in-group outcomes, can result in unfair and biased outcomes of entitlement. The system-justification beliefs (Kay, Jost & Young, 2005; Liviatan & Jost, 2011; Phelan & Rudman, 2011) justify hierarchical and unequal relationships between different social groups in society, leading to the assumption that high-status groups must have greater input than low-status groups, so they deserve better outcomes. Therefore, this feeling of personal and group entitlement leads to a privileged position of the in-group (high-status group; White), whilst the out-group (low-status group; BME) is marginalised.

As religious hate crimes are seen as perpetration committed by superordinate groups to subordinate or marginalise the supposed 'Other', it would be expected that the perpetrators of these crimes suggest greater entitlement. The participants understanding of the defendant reflects the entitlement mechanism put forth by O'Brien and Major, for instance Extract 219 is supposed to claim to *"feel entitlement to free speech"*. Freedom of speech is important to one's sense of freedom, and essential for one's inherent human right (Koskenniemi, 2010; Parens, 2016), whilst being a medium to communicate ideas and opinions, and establish fairness and acceptability (Kakabadse & Jabri, 2016). In this way, freedom of speech can facilitate citizenship and community cohesion, however as the principles of free speech are accepted as cultural norms, it may also serve to justify the prevalent racial bias (Roussos & Dovidio, 2018). Therefore, people can understand freedom of speech to mean 'freedom to insult', thus justifying their prejudicial and derogatory comments, as application of their free speech rights (White, Mark & Crandall, 2017).

Sub-Theme 2: Displacement

In claiming privileges through being native of Britain, and therefore the rightful owners of land, space, and resources, the participants imagined that the defendant/perpetrators would identify themselves as being replaced, in that they would be losing resources, and would need to give up on the values they cherish.

Extract 50: *'We were going against the rally because we don't agree with it because we feel that they are trying to push their beliefs on us and change us' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 14, M:24)*

Extract 51: *'I know what these religious groups are like – they're trying to take and if we let them get away with it, they'll end up killing us all!' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

Extract 52: *'I am out of job because an Indian guy replaced me… I am really sorry, it's just hard to see people like her taking over what was mine'' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 17, F:20)*

Extract 53: *'"I replied I was working and wasn't having my taxes pay for someone who isn't British and Christian"' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 24, F:No Age)*

The participants suggest that defendants are likely to feel threatened by outsiders or *'Other'*, who are perceived to be supplanting them. So defendants are seen to think that there is an influx of foreigners or out-groups members, who are consuming and taking over resources, which are controlled by their in-group. Therefore, the response of the defendant/perpetrators can be seen to be motivated by a need to control the resources and values, hence they engage in retaliatory or defensive hate crimes to defend their turf (see. McDevitt et al., 2001), while reducing symbolic threat to their in-group.

4.22 Theme 2: Field of Turbulence

When writing an account from the defendant/perpetrator's view of a hate crime, one theme that is read in the stories constructs the present social and cultural environment as being threatened to displace defendant/perpetrators. Within this theme three sub-plots can be seen to create the current "social-psychological field" of the defendant/perpetrators, as having a sense of being threatened, feeling unstable, and thinking that a destructive community exists in society/their neighbourhood.

Sub-Theme 1: Threatened

Within the storied idea of a defendant/perpetrator from an unspecified hate crime perspective, a notion of being threatened is articulated.

Extract 54: *'He looked pretty threatening and since it was dark I thought he might be trying to mug me. Then he stepped towards me and I panicked and I hit him in the face' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 7, M:24)*

Extract 55: *'…the man put his foot in the front door and forced it open, he introduced himself as the new neighbour in a threatening way matched with a sinister smile on his face, he had his arm stretched out pointing at me. I was so scared being threatened in my own home by the likes of him...After the threat earlier, I decided to take action. I gave him the same threat he gave me, from inside his own home, so I wrote a note and threw it through his window, attached to a brick…He then came to my house and I felt I was in danger, so when he got in my face and went to hit me I quickly pushed him away in self-defence' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 18, M:20)*

In quote two, Extract 55 storied a defence of their actions by telling a story of their home being intruded upon, interpreting a smile to be "*sinister*", and being "*scared*"; hence their response was *"self-defence"*. While Extract 84, tells an account of the victim looking *"pretty threatening"*. With Extract 54 there is a clear definition of the 'victim' who is described as *"a tall black man in poorly matched clothes"*, and mentions their life changed because of

"these immigrants". Another participant (Extract 56) wrote an account that made it apparent that the defendant/perpetrator are likely to *"feel unsafe"*, because the victim is a member of the Muslim community.

Extract 56: *'The moment me and my mate saw the girl approaching us, I started to feel unsafe. I had seen so many stories on the news of terrorist attacks, more often than not initiated by the Muslim community' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

This theme reflects then the idea that defendant/perpetrator of hate crime would construct a negative *'out-group'*. ITT (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan et al., 2009) suggests that intergroup anxiety and consequential threat can be experienced by people when they come into contact with an unknown out-group, especially if they hold a negative stereotype of the out-group. ITT further theorises that people are more likely to engage in out-group violence or avoidance because they do not know how to behave with out-group members. So here a smile is understood as *"sinister"* (Extract 55), while with Extract 54 there is the potential to be *"mugged"* because it was *"dark"*, and feeling *"unsafe"* by members of a group (i.e. Muslim) who are attributed as *"terrorists"* reinforcing the negative attributions associated with the Muslim identity.

Sub-Theme 2: Destabilised

Within this notion of outsider threat, a sense of being *displaced* is seen as one of the perspectives a defendant /perpetrator is likely to have.

Extract 57: *'... coming to out fucking country and blowing all us Brits up' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 1, F:47)*

Extract 58: *'I had a lavish home with luxuries all around me, my whole life has changed because of these immigrants…my husband, now ex, owned a building company, however due to these people coming over here he couldn't compete with the cheap labour, he paid decent*

wage to good English people, the company went bust but the debt stayed with him, we lost everything and full of guilt he tried to kill himself' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 18, M:20)

Extract 59: *'Muslims are walking all over us Brits. British culture is vanishing because Muslims are invading our country, refusing to eat our meat and continuing to do what they want to do, and not conforming to our rules' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

In this sub-theme, the defendant is constructed to understand that their *"life"*, or that their *"British culture"*, has changed due to out-groups. The participants narrate that there is a perceived sense of being undermined and disempowered by individuals who are seen as non-natives. Extract 59 implies that people who commit hate crime will have a sense of being downtrodden, hence the comment "*Muslims are walking all over the Brits"*, while Extract 57 accounts that they (Muslims) are *"blowing all the Brits up"*. Meanwhile, another understands of British culture being diluted with it being under the threat of *"vanishing"* (Extract 59) due to the conquering influx ("*invading our country"*) (Extract 59) of the Muslim community. Furthermore, Extract 89 construct defendant/perpetrator's reasons the feelings of subversion of present society is the perception that Muslims as *"not conforming"*, and *"continuing to do what they do"*, including consume halal meat. Here Muslims religious obligation is signposted as contradicting secular British culture.

This understanding of a hate crime defendant resonates with notions of ITT (i.e. the components of perceived threat that lead to prejudice between social groups; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Stephan et al., 2009), in that the construction of the defendant elucidates realistic and symbolic threat experienced from the Muslims, and "*these immigrants"* (Extract 58). As a participant notes in their story of a defendant, the threat to material things is explicit – namely employment, land, and space (Extract 58). Similarly, symbolic threats are imagined to be experienced by the hate crime defendant, as the Muslims are storied to break the rules by following their religion. ITT would explain this behaviour as the defendants need to defend their turf, and maintain rules and order ("*not conforming to our rules",* Extract 59), to reduce perceived threat (Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald & Lamoreaux, 2010; Rosenthal &

Crisp, 2006). Invariably, this reduces certain people to an outsider status who need to follow rules which are set by others, the superordinate in-group of which the defendants are part of.

Sub-Theme 3: A Destructive Community

The participants understand a person accused of a hate crime to be someone likely to be experiencing the existence of a corrosive and damaging community.

Extract 60: *'I was on my way to the shop this afternoon when I saw a suspicious Muslim man walking towards me, he has a black rucksack on his left shoulder and he was speaking on the phone' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 19, F:19)*

Extract 61: *'I had seen so many stories on the news of terrorist attacks, more often than not initiated by people of the Muslim community…They are dangerous at airports and why should I have to deal with being afraid of them?'(Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

Extract 60 identifies those accused of hate crime will have a danger alert attitude, whereby merely carrying *"a black rucksack"* and *"speaking on the phone"*, would raise *"suspicious"*, and make certain members of a particular community potential victims. In Extract 61, a defendant will be very cognisant about the construction of the Muslim community, as indelibly to *"terrorist attacks",* be highly alert to their presence at certain places - *"are dangerous at airports"*, and would wonder why they have to *"deal with being afraid"* of a particular segment of society. Participant states;

Extract 62: *'I think we as a country should put them all in a box and blow them up cos that's what they do to us init?' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 1, F:47)*

It becomes apparent that defendant/perpetrators of hate crime are understood to view a segment of society, those they target, as a destructive element of society. The perception of a

destructive community in society may reflect categorisation processes (Tajfel, 1981), whereby negative stereotypes associated with individuals and groups, over time become the definitive characteristics of those groups and its members. The outlook towards a marginalised group as being undesirable can re-establish their low-status within society, whilst members of groups seen to be high-status enjoy enhanced self-esteem, self-concept, and positive group evaluations. This view is similar to the tenets of Terror Management Theory (TMT), claiming that the premise to any out-group derogation is the potential threat to the in-groups self-esteem (Das, Bushman, Bezember, Kerkhof & Vermeulen, 2009). When there are no clear distinctions between one's in-group and respective out-group, the self-concept of the group and its boundaries can be blurred, so discrimination can occur to redefine these boundaries.

The Muslim identity has come under siege following 9/11 and other terrorist attacks in the Western sphere. Here then, it is acknowledged that people who are accused of hate crime, put certain people, in particular Muslim and those following the Islamic faith, under scrutiny as terrorists and sympathisers of terrorist acts (Copsey, Dack, Littler & Feldman, 2013; Fekete, 2004; Mythen, Walklate & Khan, 2009). The negative outlook towards Muslims as a marginalised group, by those who perceive them to be undesirable can render them to a lower status within society. So when it is imagined that those accused of hate crime would have the view that *"more often than not (terrorism is) initiated by people of the Muslim community" (*Extract 61), it is clear here that there is an understanding that this is the thinking of people who commit hate crime, and endorse the *'Muslim equals terrorist image'* (Powell, 2011).

From an ITT perspective, the terrorist activities and their reporting present a symbolic threat to the personal and collective self-esteem of a group (see. Riek et al., 2006), as their way of life, social and cultural norms, traditions, and values, are understood to be under attack. The assumption that there is an out-group that can nullify the dominance of the host culture, or replace its in-group values, can motor feelings of apprehension and extreme prejudice towards the out-group (Johnson, Rowatt & LaBouff, 2012). Out-group discrimination, hostility, and violence, may then ensue as a means of threat reduction, led by members who identify highly with in-group norms and values, and thus perceive a greater loss at the hands of out-groups. The level of SDO and subsequent intergroup conflict is dependent how deeply

an individual identifies with the in-group, in addition to how eminent and severe the threat is evaluated to be (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008). This suggests that SDO is elevated as a response to the social context that allows better readiness to cope with intergroup conflict, rather than the SDO being elevated which causes individuals to derogate out-groups (Sugiura, Mifune, Tsuboi & Yokota, 2017). In each theory, although the goals of discrimination appear to be different, in that they are supposed to improve group's self-esteem, maintain social dominance, and relief intergroup anxiety from feeling displaced, they have all imply underlying threat as an essential factor. In this respect, ITT best explains behavioural responses to threat perception.

4.23 Theme 3: Kettling

Sub-Theme 1: Gang Space Grab

When thinking about the victim perspective of unspecified hate crimes, the constructions suggests that victims are confronted by groups.

Extract 63: *'The group of boys were white, aged between 14-16' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 10, F:27)*

Extract 64: *'…the group of people stopped outside my home' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 11, F:28)*

Extract 65: '*…group of guys who were at the front of the bar started shouting abuse at me' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 15, M:27)*

Extract 66: *'I was surrounded by three white males who I'd say were not much older than me. They were dressed in grey tracksuits and coats' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 17, F:21)*

Extract 67: *'I noticed a gang of white males, around the ages of 18-21' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

This confirms the analysis of hate crime surveys and the findings reported in academic literature in the field, for the stories are telling of the defendant/perpetrators of these crimes being predominantly male (Mason, 2005; McDevitt et al., 2002), and are not perpetrated by lone-wolf attackers, rather they are viewed to occur by *"gangs"*. Extract 64 supports the idea that perpetration involves *"group of people"* and that they typically occur close to the victims home (Martin, 1996; Messner et al., 2004; Strom, 2001), whilst for other participants demonstrate that they imagine hate crimes to occur at various different locations, thus supporting hate crime findings (Herek, 1989; Steinberg et al., 2003). Hate crimes usually directed by an indigenous majority towards a minority, however the construction that *"gang of Asian youths"* (Extract 68) were involved suggests that hate crimes is grounded more in a group, rather than an individual's actions. Group empower such acts, but what does a group perpetrators and hence take from the victim? The following quotes might give an insight.

Extract 68: *'I was on the bus travelling home from work, when I was surrounded by a gang of Asian youths' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 9, F:41)*

Extract 69: *'I was walking home from my local mosque after an afternoon of worship and a car of white youths drove past. They started shouting at me calling me a 'Paki', 'a terrorist' and a 'curry smelling immigrant' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 12, F:25)*

Extract 70: *'I arrived in the pub there was a group of rowdy men with some female companions…I heard the men in the bar storming in shouting "get out here you dirty pervert! You're no woman" (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 13, F:39)*

From these, there is sense that transition from one space to another is an area group's feel empowered to contest.

These actions may be led by dominance competition, as the consequences of winning or losing in these competitions can have a stark impact on a person (and their group's) well-being, morbidity, and chances of survival (TenHouten, 2017; Zink et al., 2008). Therefore, the action of hate crime perpetrators suggests support for the domination of the in-group over other out-groups to maintain social hierarchy, and the in-group's dominance within it (see.

Sidanius & Pratto, 2001 as cited in Sidanius et al., 2004). The verbal abuse such as *"Paki"* and *"dirty pervert"* is then a tool through which the out-group can be belittled, to outline the features of the out-group that are despised, and to express that they are unworthy of favourable treatment.

However, research suggests dominance competition is common amongst those individuals who have a high SDO (Stanley & Wilson, 2019; Sugiura et al., 2017), thus only those individuals who favour non-egalitarian values will engage in such behaviour. In this respect, SDT implies a strong drive behind out-group derogation, with the individuals sensing displacement or attack on the dominance of the in-group. Conversely, hate crime literature advocates that perpetration of victims are typically committed by those who are 'thrill-seeking', therefore such deep-rooted bias is unlikely. Thus, SDT may better explain *'mission'* hate crimes involving groups that take it on themselves to exterminate an out-group that is seen to be evil or inferior (see. McDevitt et al., 2002). These individuals may create or join groups with other like-minded individuals, or alternatively operate alone, to *'cleanse'* the world of evil, however they are not motivated by a sense of threat, rather they make hate a career (McDevitt et al., 2002).

Thus in the story one can see that part of hate crimes towards the victim is a type of 'police kettling' to exercise control and contain specific people to a limited area.

Sub-Theme 2: Fencing

Along with the constructions telling of the involvement of groups, there is an indication of how these groups consume the space of their victims. The defendant/perpetrators are seen to invade the victim's personal space.

Extract 71: *'My journey took me through the park and whilst I was lost in my thoughts, a group of boys in year above surrounded me' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 3, F:20)*

Extract 72: *'…boys moved closer' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 10, F:27)*

Extract 73: *'I could feel the spray from his mouth he was that close up in my face' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 16, F:20)*

Extract 74: *'They (defendants) got closer and closer' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 17, F:21)*

This sub-theme can be understood as representing a notion whereby a *'fence'* is erected by the defendant being up-and-close in the victims face.

Invasion of personal space has been documented to cause a variety of negative emotional and physiological reactions such as fear, anxiety, palpitations, and extreme perspiration (Alexander, 2007; Wilcox, Allison, Elfassy & Grelik, 2006). The act of impinging on a person, or a group's personal or social space can create and reiterate the marginal status of the out-group (Alexander, 2007). Perpetrators of hate crimes may be motivated to restrict the personal space of out-group members, to clearly define social boundaries, and highlight the social order (see. Sibley, 1988). In this way, the in-group can create strongly classified spaces when differences, or those perceived as an 'Other' are greatly visible, and so, people or activities seen as deviant are expelled, or kept out by vilification.

In this sub-theme, the victims of hate crimes are seen *"surrounded"* (Extract 71), or their personal space is violated by the defendant/perpetrator getting *"closer"* or *"close up"* (Extract 72, 73, 74). This can induce fear in the victims and instil feelings of inferiority, as well as highlight their marginalised position in that social space.

Sub-Theme 3: Shadowing

In telling of the perceived experiences of hate crime victims, there is an understanding that the victims sense their movements are being tracked.

Extract 75: *'I walked down the main high street, it became apparent that a man from pub was following me' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 6, M:22)*

Extract 76: *'I thought I could hear someone walking behind me but I didn't think anything of it. As the footsteps got closer I looked over my shoulder and saw a middle-aged white man walking behind me' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 7, M:24)*

Extract 77: *'…boys also got off at the same stop and started following Sophie home' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 10, F:27)*

Extract 78: *'As I was walking, I became aware that a group seemed to be following me' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 14, F:19)*

Extract 79: *'At this point I couldn't be bothered starting a fight so got up and left. They followed me and I started to feel sick, I had done nothing' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 16, F:20)*

So there is an understanding that victims would report being aware that they were being trailed with potential defendant/perpetrator *"following"* (Extract 75, 77, 78) them. So here is a construction that victims are likely to perceive themselves as being selected.

Hate crime victims are typically singled out due to their immutable or perceived difference by those who perpetrate these crimes (Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003; Garland, 2010; Perry, 2001). These differences do not need to suggest a dislike of an established minority group who have been the recipients of historical discrimination and marginalisation (Perry, 2001), rather being a member of subcultural (i.e. Goths or other who engage in 'alternative' subcultures) group can be enough to be perceived as 'different'. These differences can lead to stereotyping and discrimination which serves to demean the group overall, whilst the victims are interchangeable due to the attack being on the identity of the group, and not just the individuals who are victimised (Perry, 2009). Perpetrators *"following"* of the victims can induce fear and send out a message that the victim group is under the radar, and being watched closely by the perpetrator and their group.

Noteworthy is the construction by Extract 76, who understands the victim to report they *"didn't think anything of it"* (being followed), suggesting that victims have come to accept it as part of their daily life in Britain.

4.3 De-legitimisation of "Home" Status

A core essence of human survival is governed by a sense of belonging (Stillman & Baumeister, 2009), that is, a need for a person to be seen as valuable, moral, worthy, and have a strong psychological connection to a group (Mallinckrodt & Wei, 2005). All three different hate crimes stories suggested direct or indirect questioning of the victims right to be in the UK and their 'Britishness' – do they 'belong' or not? So the questioning of belonging thus comes from both directions. So with the '*Belonging Interrogation'* theme, victims are questioned and have self-doubt about being 'real Britons', as *'Indigenous Customs'* bring their traditions into the spotlight. From the defendant-perpetrators perspective, *'Question Rights'* and the *'Safeguard'* role is adopted. From these four themes, a meta-theme explaining hate crime construction implies an attempt to *'De-legitimise the "Home" Status' of the target*. This reflects the notion that 'home' status or inclusion in multicultural society, may be precarious, whilst the notion of the 'Other' may never be fully eradicated (Harder & Zhyznomirska, 2012).

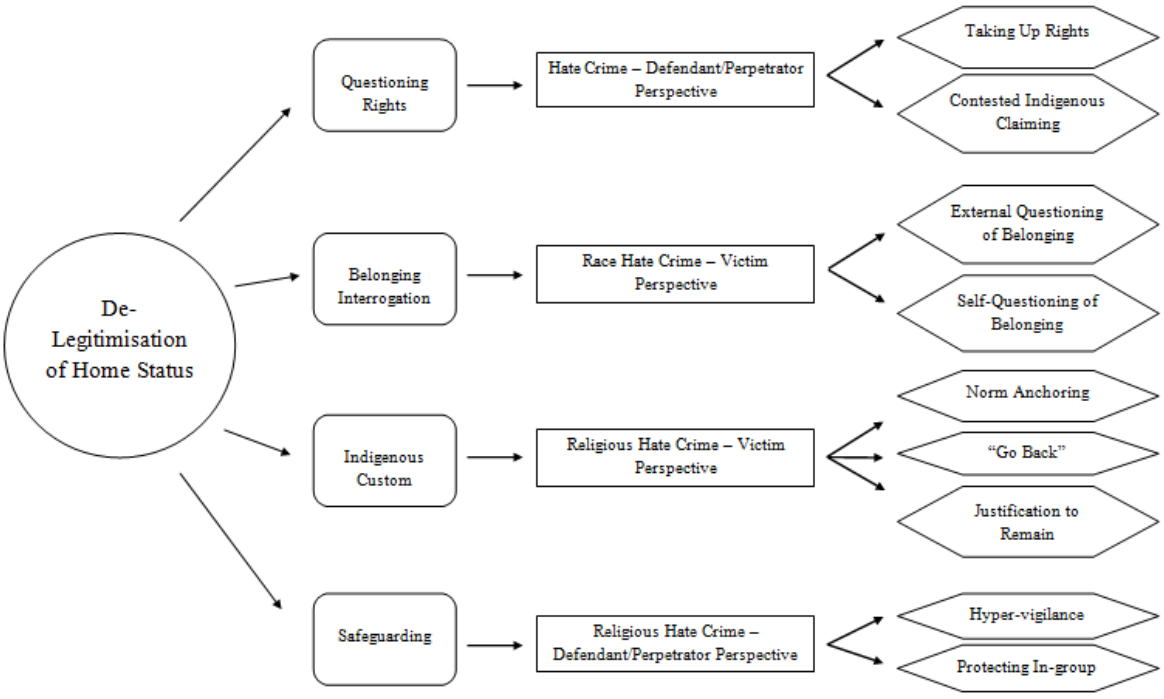

Figure 11. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of de-legitimisation of home status, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 11

Names and Definition of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of De-Legitimisation of Home Status.

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
De-Legitimisation of Home Status	Questioning Rights	In-group entitlement vs. Out-group illegitimate rights.	• Taking up Rights	• Claim that their actions were appropriate, just and right.
			• Contested Indigenous Claiming	• Question the claims and rights of those not like them.
	Belonging Interrogation	Acceptance of being a member of Britain questioned.	• External questioning of belonging	• Victim being questioned about whether Britain is their home.
			• Self-questioning of belonging	• Victim self-doubt about whether Britain is / can be their home.
	Indigenous Custom	A notion that the law of the land needs to be followed by out-groups.	• Norm Anchoring	• Understand defendant to be motivated by a need maintain social order / status quo.
			• "Go back"	• Instructed to 'return' to an 'imagined' ancestral homeland.
			• Justification to remain	• Having to account and demonstrate their loyalty to the country.
	Safeguarding	A duty to protect the community and the nation from a suspicious religious out-group.	• Hyper-vigilance	• Suspicion towards victims and their groups.
			• Protecting in-group	• Feel the need to protect their in-group from alien religious out-group.

4.31 Theme 1: Questioning Rights

In understanding the defendant/perpetrator's perspective from a hate crime perspective, another theme that is seen in the stories created is related to 'rights'. Here two sub-themes can be witnessed. One which believes that the defendant would justify their actions in terms of their entitlements, and having the authority to do what they have done. The second sub-plot would be to interrogate the legitimacy of the victim, to claim privileges assumed to be de-facto rights of the defendant/perpetrator.

Sub-Theme 1: Taking Up Rights

When thinking of defendant/perpetrators of hate crime, the participants storied them as likely to be arguing that their actions were just and right;

Extract 80: *'I think he's just a pervert that wants to go spy on women in the toilets – so we decided to get up and go tell him to get out. That's all. No harm done, we're just speaking our opinion as it's a free country' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 13, F:39)*

Extract 81: *'I am not guilty of any of the following due to doing what is right by this country and its people'(Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 18, M:20)*

Extract 82: *'I have a right to see a person's identity in public, to know they are not carrying weapons or pose a threat to me or my friends' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

So, for Extract 81, a defendant is likely to argue their actions to be justifiable due to them doing "*what is right for the country and its people"*, namely, addressing a problem for the good of all – the indigenous Britain. In certain situations, the participants suggest that defendants may argue they are just exercising their rights to speak their mind *"as it's a free country"*. These rights extend to claiming an entitlement to expect people to dress and be visible, according to certain standard, in the public arena. So Extract 82 constructs the defendants as being uncomfortable in not having their *"right to see a person's identity in public"*. The focus on the victim being identifiable is referenced to Muslim women's clothing, who cover their body as a sign of modesty and religious beliefs (Siraj, 2011; Tarlo, 2007). However, this Muslim dress is here perceived as dangerous (Hamdan, 2007; Haw,

2009), owing to the association with terrorism and terrorists (Bankoff, 2003; Mamdani, 2002; Powell, 2011), and is reported to generate discomforting feelings in the defendant/perpetrator.

Sub-Theme 2: Contested Indigenous Claiming

In providing a defence for their actions further, the defendant/perpetrators are assumed to question the rights of those positioned as out-groups members. For people who see themselves as indigenous Britons, claiming Britain as one's own, and having equal status to them, is challenged.

Extract 83: *'His face just annoyed me, who did he think he was coming here. I've had a few and I'm pissed off, that new fella from work has been given a higher pay rise than me and he's not even from this country either' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 16, F:20)'*

Extract 84: *'... he didn't fit in this quiet little neighbourhood one bit' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 18, M:20)*

Extract 85: *'The girl seemed angry, her eyes were wide open and she walked so freely, as if she owned the place' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

Extract 84 emphasises the Otherness (see. Perry, 2001) by which a defendant/perpetrators would see a victim, by telling that a victim, *"didn't fit in this quiet little neighbourhood", "walked so freely, as if she owned the place"* (Extract 85), and just the different physical facial features of the victim "*annoyed"* (Extract 83) them. Indeed, the defendant/perpetrators are perceived to see themselves as victim to the unfair treatment and competition from these out-group members, who *"has been given a higher pay rise"* (Extract 83). Here, a type of *economic entryism* is voiced.

Extract 86: *They think they have the right to enter our country, steal our jobs and our houses, and refuse to undertake basic security measures when travelling? As well as refusing to speak our language (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

Extract 99, here then, sees as an out-group as reticent about joining British culture, and as merely reaping the benefits of Britain. So here, the thinking is that defendants/perpetrators question certain peoples initial *"right to enter country"* because they are not conforming to

the social convention and rules, yet they "*wander the streets and get away with"* (Extract 87), breaking such norms with impunity.

Extract 87: *'The point is, scum like her should not be allowed to wander the streets and get away with hiding their identities because of their religion' (Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

Thus, minority and other out-groups are predominantly seen as culturally and normatively disruptive (Johnson et al., 2012; Lyons, 2006), with some of their social conventions seen to be inferior and contradictory to western values (Joffe & Staerkle, 2007). The notion that defendants/perpetrators would specifically claim that victims are *"scum"*, merely by wearing attire that conceals their identity, is seen to brazenly challenge British values.

4.32 Theme 2: Belonging Interrogation

When writing an account from the victim's view of a hate crime, one theme that is read is about belonging. Within this theme, a sense of belonging comes from the defendant/perpetrator, as well as the victim. Hence the victim is fully aware that others are questioning their sense of belonging, and are themselves asking questioning about where they belong. Social belonging, or seeing oneself as socially connected, is a basic human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Macdonald & Leary, 2005), as social connectedness results in favourable outcomes (Walton & Cohen, 2007).

Sub-Theme 1: External Questioning of Belonging

The construction of the victim perspective of hate crime claims it is likely that the defendant/perpetrator would question whether Britain is the home of the victim. The fact that in writing from a victim position, it is acknowledged that the attacker would attempt to undermine the sense of belonging, is one of the facets of the discriminations that is recognised as victimisation.

Extract 88: *'A young yob was driving by, I felt like he had already drove past me before only this time to stick his head out of the window and shout go home Paki…He started shouting more racial abuse, saying I should go back home I don't belong here, my skin colour doesn't fit in with this country, nor do the clothes my ethnicity wear' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 3, M:22)*

Extract 89: *'…he was calling me a "nigga" and shouting racial abuse at me telling me to go back to my country and I look like shit with a face on' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 4, F:20)*

Extract 90: *'…"if you live in my country you follow my rules, take off the head thing". I knew he was referring to my hijab as the comments he made earlier before mentioned it. When I asked why I should take it off (the hijab), he replied, I don't like it, you look like a terrorist! now take it off…and 'told me "to go back to my country" if I wanted to blow things up' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Extract 91: *'I was stunned, I couldn't believe that people in the 21st Century could still be so rude. I chose to continue till I heard one of them shout "go back to the jungle, baboon"' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 11, M:18)*

Extract 92: *'He then pushed me into a wall…told me to "go back to my own country"' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 17, F:26)*

Extract 93: *'…shouted in my face "why don't you go home; you Muslim bastards are all fucking terrorists"' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 18, M:53)*

The quotes, above all, draw to the notion that victims are made to feel unwelcome and outsiders, with the calls of *"go home"* (Extract 88, 93), and *"go back"* (Extract 88, 90, 91, 92). In effect, victims of hate crimes are subject to what can be called homeless signification – act to displace, destable, and dislodge, people's sense of belonging. Participants' story that the racial identity and *"skin colour"* is assumed to be a misfit, in addition to it being derogatory for the victim, who is addressed as a *"nigga" (*Extract 88 & 89). Meanwhile, another construction focussed on the religious or ethnic dress of the victim as a symbol of difference (Extract 90). The negative stereotype of the Muslim identity is stereotyped by reference to them as *"fucking terrorists"* (Extract 93), wanting to *"blow things up"* (Extract 90). Also, the religious dress and practices are clearly constructed foreign by a participant, who writes that the victim should 'go back' if they wanted to *"practice their religion"*, while contending Muslims look like terrorist because of *"that head thing"* (hijab).

This sub-theme illustrates that the victim's of race hate crime would experience negative treatment due to their racial and/or religious difference, leading to the questioning of their belonging. Belonging has been argued to be a core motive in social psychology (see. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Fiske, 2004), having a sense of belonging, has important consequences on pride and self esteem (Tajfel, 1979). People who identify with a certain

group show greater self-esteem and positive appraisal of the self (Aberson, Healy & Romero, 2000; Smith & Tyler, 1997), at the same time as acting in favour of the in-group, to show their group membership (Aberson et al., 2000; Cairns, Kenworthy, Campbell & Hewstone, 2006; Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino & Sacchi, 2002). However groups with highly salient collective identities are often more rigid, and have set boundaries which determine the 'Us' (i.e. those who belong) and 'Them' (i.e. those who do not belong – *outsiders*). Thereon, anyone in the social space that is perceived as 'Them' may be subjected to discrimination, in turn communicating that they do not belong. The difference of the out-group and its members is spotlighted, and their belonging in a social space is questioned, to specific and elaborate clear differences between the in-group and the out-group, and enhance the positive distinctiveness of the in-group.

While out-group derogation and discrimination in the form of questioning out-group belonging can improve the in-groups self-esteem, SIT also argues that rejected or frustrated sense of belonging can negatively impact victims and their group (DeWall & Richman, 2011; Smart Richman & Leary, 2009). Victimisation of minority due to their difference, by those seen as an out-group, can induce feelings of social exclusions leading to alienation (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis & Pietrzak, 2002), especially for racially motivated crimes (Shelton & Richeson, 2005). People have a basic human need of being accepted, valued and feeling important in relation to other people, groups, and the environment they inhabit (Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwseman & Collier, 1992). In the case, where these needs are thwarted, these experiences can induce higher levels of anxiety, in turn depleting and damaging self-esteem of people and groups (see. Anant, 1966, 1967, 1969).

Racial and religious groups are particularly vulnerable to victimisation according to SDT (Johnson et al., 2012; Schmitt et al., 2003). Individuals with high SDO endorse anti-egalitarian and anti-immigrant attitudes, therefore any visible difference that marks an individual as an outsider, will be met with contempt (Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington & Ho, 2017; Levin, 2004). Also, individuals supporting social hierarchy may be mobilised to reject immigrants, and other out-groups, that fare well in the UK (Golec de Zavala, Guerra & Simao, 2017). The official status that marks an individual as an in-group member (e.g. British citizen) can be nullified in this way by group members high in SDO, subsequently forcing out-group members to justify their belongingness, as seen below.

Sub-Theme 2: Self-questioning of Belonging

As mentioned above, the questions about belonging have social-psychological implications (Anant, 1966, 1967, 1969; Hagerty et al., 1992). While the previous sub-theme discusses the external questioning of belonging, in this theme it is imagined that the victims will self-reflect about whether they belong;

Extract 94: *'I am a British born Muslim, so I thought I was in my country' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 1, F:21)*

Extract 95: *'He started shouting more racial abuse, saying I should go back home, I don't belong here, my colour skin doesn't fit in with this country nor do the clothes my ethnicity wear, I wasn't even wearing the usual Sikh clothes' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 3, M:22)*

Extract 96: *'I am not a Paki, Iraqi, just because my skin isn't white doesn't make me any different to you, I am British, I have every right to be here' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 15, F:48)*

In the first quote, a participant stories the victim to argue their equality of status with the defendant, by drawing on their *'British'* identity, thus defending the *"right to be here"* (in Britain). Additionally, another story (Extract 94) tells of the victim confirming their British identity as she is a *"British born Muslim"*, in defence of her belonging. Nonetheless, the statements *"I thought I was in my country"*, and *"I wasn't even wearing the usual Sikh clothes"*, construct that victimisation lead to the questioning of one's sense of belonging.

What can be understood in the above justifications by the participants, is the notion of categorisation that victims develop. Self and social categorisation can happen spontaneously on the basis of physical similarity or proximity (Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson & Riek, 2005), and such categorisation can minimise actual differences between members of the same group (Tajfel, 1969). This concept of SIT is outlined above, as the participants understand that victims potentially draw on citizenship or nationality as a common factor between them and the indigenous group. Yet, SIA suggests members of the same in-group can have various personal and social identities (e.g. national, ethnic, religious, gender) simultaneously (Crocetti, Prati & Rubini, 2018; Hearn, 2007). If one identity is more salient, then that becomes the defining feature of the individual, and they are assumed to be members of that

group. To explain further, ethnic or religious identities of individuals may override the British identity, especially if there are visible markers (i.e. religious dress and symbols) that can mark a person as 'different', and so, individuals may be assigned out-group status by some members of the in-group. Discrimination of members of ethnic and religious group can leave them bewildered, and so self-questioning of belonging, may be an attempt to fathom the cause of their victimisation, by those supposed to be in-group members. In doing so, people may also try to introspect about the potential visibility of their own difference (see. Extract 108), that may have led to their victimisation.

This theme then contends that race hate crimes may stimulate victims to contemplate about their position in society. When thinking about questioning of belonging, what can be seen is that victims are seen to reach for their official declaration of belonging.

Extract 97: 'As a Syrian refugee, I found these a 'dig at my race' and recent status in the UK' (Race Hate, *Victim Perspective*, Participant 2, F:36)

Extract 98: 'I shook him off and replied "I am not a Paki, just leave me alone' (Race Hate, *Victim Perspective*, Participant 15, F:48)

So with a hate crime, it is acknowledged that victims are understood to validate their rights to be in the country. To overcome self- and external questioning of belonging, it is assumed that victims would reaffirm their sense of belonging by arguing they were *"born in Britain"*, or eligible to remain, due to *"recent status in the UK"* (Extract 97).

Apart from one story, the victims are all constructed as members of the BME (Black Minority Ethnic) group in these stories (even when the instructions did not specify the race of the victim and/or defendant/perpetrator). While member of the BME communities experience increased violence and hostility, as they are considered an undesirable group (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Alexander, Brewer & Hermann, 1999), the general acceptance that race hate crimes are White on BME attacks, masks the possibility of white people being victims of race hate crimes. This is an important consideration as SIT, suggesting that members of low-status groups are more likely to engage in upwards derogation towards high status group to improve their self-esteem (Hubbard, 2004). Conversely, research on SDO has suggested that individuals from low status-groups will partake in hierarchy-attenuating actions to better the position of their respective groups (Kteily et al., 2017). Nonetheless, only highly affiliated

group members, or those who perceive extreme injustice in resource distribution, are likely to engage in these actions, as there are greater risk to the minority group, such as further derogation, humiliation, and alienation.

In support, participants understand hate crimes to be perpetrated by individuals of a majority towards minority groups, interestingly, Extracts 99 and 100 write about the hate experiences of white women who are *"pushed"* and called *"white bitch"*. These constructions suggest retributive violence by BME communities may result from continued hate crime victimisation faced by minority groups, however these are only stories imagined by participants, therefore cannot be generalised to actual hate crimes pertinent in society. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to see if actual incidents of revenge hate crimes entail perpetration by BME communities towards white people in the UK.

Extract 99: *'At that point one of them snatched my phone and pushed me to the ground shouting "you White bitch". Then they ran off down the alley' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 13, F:53)*

Extract 100: *'The young man approached me and pushed into me, calling me a "white bitch" and accused me of pushing him about and called me racist. I kept walking but the man blocked my path, shouting abuse' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 21, F:38)*

Is this not evident in the male grooming of young white girls in Rochdale? (Tufail, 2015; Walters, 2013). The Rochdale child sex abuse involved teenage girls in Rochdale, Greater Manchester, England. These crimes led to public debate about crimes committed against *"vulnerable"* girls, however as the perpetrators of these crimes were all Asian Muslim men, and their victims were white non-Muslim females, it raised questions about the racial and religious underpinning of these crimes (Walters, 2013). According to the hate crime legislation, these crimes would denote hate crimes, as the reports suggest that the victims were selected based on their racial or religious identity and group membership. Thus, hate crimes from a minority groups towards a majority may be prevalent, however further research is needed in the area to ascertain whether these acts are proactive or reactive.

4.33 Theme 3: Indigenous Custom

In constructing what a victim perspective may tell of religious hate crime, the participants suppose that victims recognise that social and cultural factors are not in line with British culture. This is witnessed by the stories articulating sub-themes of *'norm-anchoring'* and *'command to leave'*, being directed towards the victim and their in-group. Also, a third sub-theme is said to be requested of the victim who are asked to provide *'justification to remain'*.

Sub-Theme 1: Norm Anchoring

The participant stories identify the defendant/perpetrators actions to be motivated by a need to maintain social order and the status quo of the in-group.

Extract 101: *'She proceeded to argue with me, claiming that I am a second-class citizen to the country and services should be prioritised for people like her' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 9, F:31)*

Extract 102: *'…a tall Black guy with a mic and camera racing after us for no reason trying to ask us inappropriate questions and how it's pathetic and stupid that you have many children, and that its ruining their life' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 10, F:20)*

Extract 103: *'They (defendants) came towards me and started shouting "look at that paki" and "why is she wearing a towel on her head?...I struggled to stop them and their chants got louder saying "you're in our country now, take that dirty scarf off"' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 17, F:20)*

The claims of privilege, and the rights of the in-group, are at the forefront of participant story, where it is imagined the defendant/perpetrator demand that *"services should be prioritised for people like her"*. At the same time, the victim dress spotlights them as '*foreign'* and an *'outsider'* (Extract 101). Additionally, contravening the norm by having *"many children"* renders the victim *"pathetic"* (Extract 101, 102).

Here ("they breed like rats") trope is constructed of a group, such that the victim lifestyle being incompatible with that of the dominant culture, to render the victim as a *"second-class citizen to the country"*, undeserving of equal rights and resources. Conversely, it may hint at the defendant/perpetrators intolerance of any differences between the victims' beliefs and value systems, and their own.

Extract 104: *'The hungry wolves look to eliminate anyone from their perception of the norm and wipe out the minority' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 19, F:22)*

Ethnic cleansing is entrenched in history (see. Ahmed, 1995; Mann, 2005; Sekulić, 2015), with dominant and powerful groups exercising mass violence and atrocities towards less powerful, oppressed, and marginalised groups. These constructions of the participants are perhaps better understood from the work on intergroup relations (Dukes & Gaither, 2017; Gerber et al., 2018; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017). One of the arguments presented in intergroup conflict is that, defining and maintaining norms, sustain the hegemony of a group seen to be native, or an *'in-group'*. Invariably, those groups considered as *'foreign'* or less deserving by the dominant group are summoned to follow the values and belief systems, which are considered more advanced or superior, to the practices of the migrant group. Therefore, the defendant/perpetrator reminding the victim *"you're in our country now"* (Extract 103), points to such demarcation of rights and values. The statements further denote participants' appreciation of the symbolic threat experienced by the defendant/perpetrators, through by the influx of immigrants and foreigners, who are seen to be *"ruining their life"* (Extract 102).

Sub-Theme 2: "Go Back"

For the victim perspective, the participants entertain the idea that the defendant/perpetrators voice of the victim to not belong, as well as demanding them to leave.

Extract 105: *'They started making rude remarks. "Go home, raghead. Go back to Paki-land where you belong"' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 6, M:52)*

Extract 106: *'As I walked past they made comments about "going home", "go back to your own country"…who is running your shop", "Paki go home"' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 11, F:44)*

Extract 107: *'You should go back to your own country you paki…you don't even deserve to be alive (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 17, F:20)*

Extract 108: *'They started following me whilst constantly shouting things like "you don't belong here" and "go home" (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 21, M:19)*

Extract 109: *'Youth approached me and made me feel uncomfortable by getting too close. He screamed abuse at me saying I should go back to my own country if I wanted to practice my religion' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 24, F:No Age)*

The phrase *"go back"* is nativist, and xenophobic, while debate exists whether this phrase is racist or racially charged (Zimmerman, 2019). The claims of *"go back to Paki-land where you belong"* (Extract 105), and *"you don't belong here"* (Extract 108), tell of the defendant/perpetrator defining the boundaries between the *'belonging'* in-group, and the *'non belonging'* out-group. Religious hate crimes restore the *"proper"* relative relations positions' of the Self and the *'Other'* (Perry, 2001; p. 10), therefore they serve to remind the victim of their subordinate position, whilst reaffirming the superior position of the defendant/perpetrator. The *"go home"* (Extract 106, 108) statement, subsequently reinforces the boundaries of the dominant group and the *'Other'*, as to put the *'Othered'* groups in their *'place'* (Perry & Alvi, 2012, p. 61). Furthermore, Perry and Alvi (2012) contend that despite the incident involving a single victim, the message is directed towards the victim's wider social and community group.

Sub-Theme 3: Justification to Remain

In writing of the victim perspective of religious hate crimes, the victims are understood as having to account and demonstrate their loyalty to the country. This is principally done by telling how they contribute to society.

Extract 110: *'I'm also British. My family came to England between the wars, seeking a more prosperous life. So we've been here for several generations. My father, and his father, worked hard and valued good education…we've been successful; found the prosperity we sought. And we've contributed quite a lot to society… I am British Sikh. I don't find any conflict in that and neither do most of the people I meet' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 6, M:52)*

Extract 111: *'I am a simple man, I come to this country to work and provide for my family…we simply want to provide to this economy not steal, and our religion should not provide us with barriers, but break them down' (Religious Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 19, F:22)*

Here then, is the familiar story of people being motivated to emigrate to other lands to better their lives and their family, and to embrace the opportunity, in accordance to the social practices and norms of that country. However, in needing to voice this story, it is clear that the participants constructing the victim of religious hate crimes recognise that a 'blood and soil' argument is drawn on, to question the rights of the victim.

4.34 Theme 4: Safeguarding

In this theme, the participants construct the defendant/perpetrators to feel insecure and inferior in relation to the people who they victimise. Thus, the response is said to be a 'defensive' action to overcome the negativity being experienced.

Sub-Theme 1: Hyper-Vigilance

From the perspective of the defendant/perpetrator, it is considered that religious hate crime involves suspicion towards victims and their groups. This hyper-vigilancy can be seen to be where individuals imagine, and believe, others are judging them.

Extract 112: *'I have seen the victim several times and he always stares and looks up and down – judging… what right does he have to judge me when he dresses like he does' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 1, F:52)*

Extract 113: *'…(defendant) thought the Muslim man was looking at me funny' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 5, F:20)*

Extract 114: *'She was arrogant and smug, does she not realise I'm out of a job because an Indian guy replaced me?...I wouldn't have ever gone over, but she kept looking at me, kept giving these judgemental looks, as if she was better than us' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 17, F:20)*

In some respects then, the concept of imaginary audience (Bell & Bromnick, 2003; Livingstone, 2013) could be the basis of the defendant/perpetrators view of people who are seen as an out-group. Some people feel the pressure to constantly perform as "if they are being looked at, as if they are at the centre of the attention of a *"real"* or *"imaginary audience"* (Hall, 1980; p. 89). Thus, they may be inclined to interpret the behaviours of others, and may conclude this interpreted behaviour to be an 'actual' reflection of the audience's thoughts and feelings. An aspect of that imaginary audience is egocentrism (Galanaki, 2012; Vartanian & Powlishta, 2001), an aspect of which is self-interest (Epley &

Caruso, 2004), causing individuals to develop a personal fable (i.e. a belief that they are special, unique, and vulnerable to harm), making them feel threatened, especially when in a new environmental context, or new life situations e.g. contact with non-native out-group (Schwartz, Maynard & Uzelac, 2008). Consequently, in some cases, people may have their egocenticism and self-interest challenged, and so, they detect insincerity and ploy in the actions of the imaginary audience.

Extract 115: *'We didn't even push him, he fell onto the pavement and then his turban came off, and it wasn't our fault! He shouldn't be looking at us in the way he did' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 3, F:23)*

Extract 116: *'I was stood having a cigarette watching the Jews laughing and having fun together. Why do they wear those caps on their head looking smug, without any care. They have no right! They are to blame for splitting out society, for wars and division. Why can't they just leave us alone and go live in America where they love the Jews. Dad always telling me how better life would be with no Jews…those wealthy Jews have a job and it's all their fault. I'm going to show them…If I see some more Jews here I'll do it again' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 4, M:49)*

Extract 117: *'I use to like hanging out with him on weekends but now he wants to go to church on Sundays. He thinks he is so much better than the rest of us' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 7, F:46)*

Extract 118: *'we don't want them Jewish people causing us even more trouble, taking our jobs, and buying all the local businesses, and walking around with those stupid long, black coats, dirty black hats, straggly hair, and muttering to themselves. They shouldn't even be here should they? Their Synagogue is in our part of Belfast, and I'm glad it burned down' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 20, M:45)*

Extract 119: *'I don't have anything against Muslims – as long as they stay in their own country' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 23, M:49)*

Freeman and Garety (2000) put forth that *"paranoia"* is a product of erroneous judgement by a person, that they are going to be the target of harm intended by the perpetrator. Individuals with high levels of paranoia are more likely to judge an out-group as more threatening (Jack & Egan, 2016; Lopes & Jaspal, 2015), and perceive a negative intention of the individuals

and their group, in causing harm to themselves and their group, even when there is no intention to cause harm (Freeman, Evans, Cernis, Lister & Dunn, 2015). If one considers the paranoia literature, then it could be argued that these feelings of insecurity and the perceived threat to the self can be argued to be the justification given by the defendant for their actions. In this theme, it is imagined that the defendant/perpetrator will view the actions and behaviours of the victims as patronising and condescending.

Sub-Theme 2: Protecting In-Group

One notion that is reflected in the participants' construction of religious hate crimes, from the defendant/perpetrator perspective, is that they understand the defendant/perpetrator feel the need to protect their in-group, and repel a perceived displacement from religious out-groups.

Extract 120: *'These f***ing Pakis should go home. We don't want them here. England should be for the English; nice white Christians. These ragheads should go back where they belong…but I was doing us all a favour. Go home, Paki; f**k off' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 6, M:52)*

Extract 121: *'I saw a Muslim with a backpack at a busy train station. I was a victim at the London bombings…I needed to intervene, I had a bad feeling about the situation…I realise I was wrong but I had to protect my community when I believed it was in danger' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 15, F:30)*

Extract 122: *'I was protecting my country. I know what these religious groups are like – they're trying to take over and if we let them get away with it, they'll end up killing us all!' (Religious Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

Although a defendant/perpetrator is imagined to understand the wrongness of his actions in the construction in Extract 121, it is also suggested that the defendant/perpetrators impulse was based on the need to *"protect my (the) community"*. Extract 120 highlights that "*England should be for the English; nice white Christians".*

4.4 Aliens

One of the meta-themes that was identified in examining the initial themes, gathered from the stories, can be seen to construct the notion of 'Aliens'. Built on the themes where certain groups of people are seen as *'strange citizens'* or *'non-natives'*, and the *'Other'*, this meta-

theme points out that some people are seen as not a naturalised citizens. Johnson (2018) simile that Muslim women *"go around looking like letter boxes"*, can be seen as an archetypical comment that construct people as Alien, for one meaning of being an alien, is the hypothetical or fictional characteristics, which is captured in this comment. The possible impact of being seen as an alien, is that it could make groups of people more susceptible to attacks, as was recognised with the fact that after Johnson's comment, there was a 375% rise in hate crimes towards the Muslim community (Horton, 2019). Not only is the conceptualising people as Aliens possibly related to such group being targeted physically or verbally, but also such a group could lead to members developing a sense of alienation, which has been negatively correlated with a person's self-evaluation of being valuable, good, and useful (Luke & Maio, 2009).

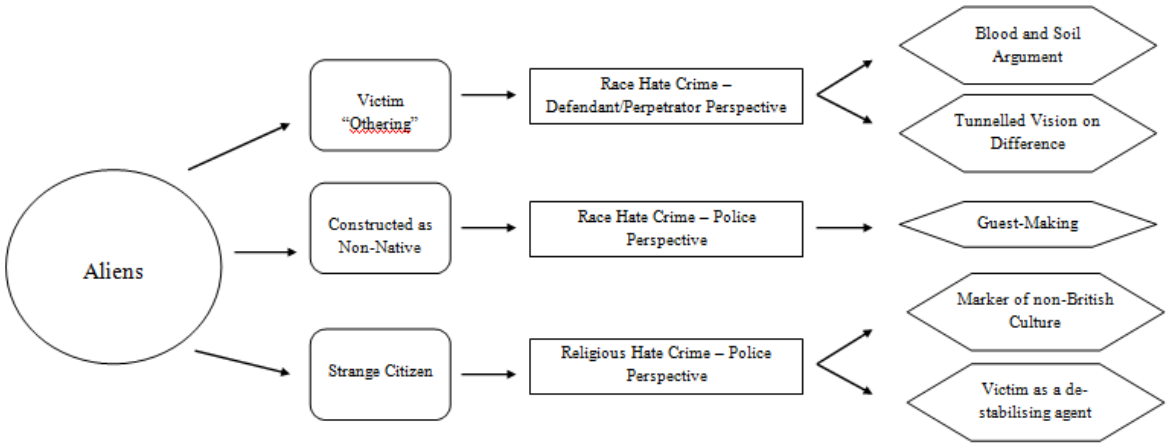

Figure 12. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of aliens, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 12

Names and Definitions of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of Aliens.

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
Aliens	Victim "Othering"	Segregation of the victim as an outsider through their racial or religious difference.	• Blood and Soil Argument • Tunnelled Vision on Difference	• Victim being a trespasser or not home-grown. • Aspect of the out-group spotlighted as unfitting.
	Constructed as Non-Native	Guest Making – A "visitor" who is obliged to behave according to the rules stated by the "host".	• Guest Making	• Victims being seen as non-native Britons. • Temporary invitation.
	Strange Citizen	There is an unfitting group that is overturning the dominant group's values and culture.	• Marker of non-British culture • Victim as a de-stabilising agent.	• Victims distinguished by their religious, cultural and/or social practices, seen as not British. • Victim religion seen as 'improper' and destabilising.

4.41 Theme 1: Victim 'Othering'

When writing an account from this stance, it is voiced that the defendant/perpetrators of a race hate crime will construct the existence of an outsider group invading British social space. Within this theme then, three sub-plots are apparent which points to the victims and their group as not being sufficiently British. These themes question the legitimacy of those groups to be in Britain given their factual diversity.

Extract 123: *'Recently, I snapped though. I saw one walking our streets, she'd wrapped her head up and it infuriated me, she looked dangerous so I stopped her and asked her to remove it as she is living in Britain not the Middle East' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Sub-Theme 1: Blood and Soil Argument

Extract 124: *'I wanted to take no risks so defended not only myself but my country too' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 12, M:22)*

Extract 125: *'This needed sorting. So I went over to the other side of the road to tell her to go home where she belonged' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 17, F:26)*

Within this sub-theme, the idea of the 'other' is conceptualised by the participants, by drawing on factors which can make an individual or group appear to be an outsider. For instance, the claim by participant 12 reflects the concept of realistic threat within ITT, with the defendant/perpetrator understood as wanting to *"protect"* themselves and their land (i.e. *"country"*). In doing so, what is heard is that the victims are constructed as non-native, who are explicitly told to *"go home to where she (they) belong"* (Extract 125). Hence, out-groups are seen as unwanted occupiers and illegitimate, and so the defendants/perpetrators feel compelled to act in ways to *'sort out'* a situation. This construction of a victim being an occupier, by the defendant/perpetrator, is observed by the following story extract.

Extract 126: *'Alec from Poland had been trying to cross the border to England …. [he] thought this lorry would be great as it contains food, water and shelter to trip. An hour into the journey, Jerry [the lorry driver] heard a bang in the back of the lorry so he pulled over and shouted for whoever is in the lorry to come out. Jerry said Alec didn't come out so he picked up the gun from his glove box and opened the back of the lorry …, Alec then jumped up and went to run but Jerry shot Alec in self defence. Jerry had been sentenced to murder but he is pleading against this saying, Alec should never have been there' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 1, F:21)*

Here then, the participants draw on the negative impact that the in-group may experience by the existence (Extract 125), and illegal infiltration of (Extract 126), out-group members, by reflecting on the loss of resources (e.g. employment; Extract 127).

Extract 127: *'I have lived in Nottingham all my life and always been in employment until I was made redundant' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 2, F:36)*

Extract 127 further refers to the defendant/perpetrator claiming to be indigenous by them having *"live in Nottingham all my (his) life"* implying that the native in-group were the controllers of resources (e.g. *"always been in employment"*), before things started to change (*"made redundant"*).

The following extracts then story the defendant perpetrators to identify out-groups members, and engage in microaggression to insult and derogate out-group members who, as seen in Extract 129, are perceived to be insincere (e.g. "gave us a filthy look, like he was judging us"). Extract 128 suggests that the participants understand that the actions of the defendant/perpetrators may be motivated to intentionally cause anxiety (Extract 128).

Extract 128: *'…once they turned into the street where the car park was there was less lighting and there was actually no reason for the defendants to be on that street as it only led to the car park, they could not have been walking that way home' ((Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 15, F:48)*

Extract 129: *'Paki bloke came out of his shop and gave us all a filthy look, like he was judging us. I told him not to look at us and he laughed and ignored me like I wasn't worth his attention' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant, 16, F:23)*

The victim(s) are understood to be the recipients of out-group derogation in this way, who are made to feel alien by the native group. In this theme, the defendant/perpetrators are to focus on the victim's status, difference, contributions, and assimilation to Britain. In doing so, the stories tell of how defendants are native to the country, while victims were, at best, unwanted outsiders.

The theme is an avenue for states, authorities, and majority groups, to maintain hegemony over people perceived to be infiltrating, and assuming rights (Bauman, 1992). Its expression in the modern era suggests a nationalist position (Amaya, 2018; Bauman, 1992; Satz, 1999), mobilising to uphold the power, and define boundaries of a given space (Bauman, 1992; Homer-Dixon, 1994). What is being insinuated is a particular identity, and concept of the self, in the presence of the *'Other'* (Hogg, Abrams & Brewer, 2017). The latter point is supported by a participants construction, who notes the actions of the perpetrator to be motivated by an inherent need *"to defend not only myself (himself) but my (his) country too"* (Extract 124).

Sub-Theme 2: Tunnelled Vision on Difference

From the stories on the defendant/perpetrators perspective, it is clear that certain aspect of the out-group is scrutinised as unfitting.

Extract 130: *'They shouted back at me, I wasn't having that, alone or not, so I got out of the car and shouted about their race some more, told them their kind didn't belong here' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 3, M:22)*

Extract 131: *"…they (foreigners) are different, they speak a different language, and never speak English, which irritates me. They dress in a strange way which bothers me more" (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Extract 132: *'I said this as he is a Paki, he was from Pakistan. I said it in no other regard than that. I would refer to a Black guy as a nigger' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 9, M:49)*

Extract 133: *I was walking down Lincoln high street when I saw a 'Paki' woman on the other side of the road. She was clearly trying to blend in and hide with her jeans and jacket. But she had one of those stupid head things on' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 17, F:26)*

Hate crime perpetration and victimisation is situated in accentuating difference by the perpetrator between them and their targeted victims (see. Hall, 2013; Iganski, 2008; Perry, 2001). This difference does not have to be based on a well-informed opinion, or prior engagement between the two parties, as simply the perception of difference is sufficient, to warrant intimidation and assault, in the mind of the defendant(s). Here, in Extract 131, the lack of English spoken by the out-groups is seen to *"irritate"* the defendant/perpetrator, with the visual appearance of the out-group augmenting the feelings of *"bother"*. Similarly, Extract 133 stories the defendant/perpetrator to spotlight the victim for wearing *"one of those stupid head things on"*, which is sufficient to identify her as a *"Paki"*, and it being a deceitful effort to *"blend in"*. Chakraborti & Zempi (2012) put forth that headscarf (or other facial or bodily garments) is an indicator of 'Otherness' of Muslim women in society, thereby Muslim women are easily recognisable as different, and easy targets for hate-motivated attacks. It must be noted, that the story context was about race perpetration, yet there were many incidents where religiously motivated incidences were discussed in race hate constructions. Muslim women have become chief recipients of anti-Muslim hate crimes, perhaps because their identity cannot be mistaken or concealed (Perry, 2014), just as a person cannot mask their race.

This theme then operates to create a social distance, as the defendant is motivated by highlighting the difference between themselves and members of the out-group. Social distance is commonly accepted as a measure of ethnic prejudice (Weaver, 2008). Although acceptance or derogation of social groups is at the core of social distance, they have been argued to mean different things. For example, Marger (2011) proposes that social distance is a measure of how acceptable certain ethnic groups are within society, which according to Williams (1964) is dependent on the level of intimacy following an interaction with an out-group member. In short, social distance is the perceived difference between one's group, and a supposed out-group, as well as difference between oneself, and a member of the out-group. The level of interaction between members of different groups produces social distance, therefore negative and/or unsympathetic interactions enlarge the social distance.

Extract 134: *'I said this as he is a Paki, he was from Pakistan. I said it in no other regard than that. I would refer to a Black guy as a nigger' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 9, M:49)*

Extract 135: *'...Muslim girl laid on the floor crying about her ankle or something, we tried to help her up but she screamed. We didn't want to cause a scene or look as though we'd caused trouble so we ran off leaving her on the floor. We certainly haven't committed a hate crime act as none of us are racist' (Race Hate, Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective, Participant 19, F:28)*

Racist epithets convey a person's contempt and hatred towards another person using derogatory expressions (Hom, 2008), often due to their race (Croom, 2008). Therefore, despite Extract 134 pleading a naïve reference to the Black or Pakistani person, with no intended racial harm, the very use of the racial slur or epithet, can suggest to the other person that they are being racially victimised. Therefore, despite Extract 134 pleading that no racial offence was intended, an unconcerned demeanour of the abusive nature of the historically well-known offensive terms of *"Paki"* and *"Nigga"* is voiced, for they sum up factual differences.

4.42 Theme 2: Constructed as Non-Native

The social imagination of the police perspective constructs an understanding of race hate victims as being seen as non-native Britons. Two sub-themes make up this theme; the first sub-theme suggests that the police understand the victim to be seen as a 'guest' in the country. The second sub-theme suggests efforts of the defendant/perpetrators to subordinate and offend the victim based on their racial identity.

Sub-Theme 1: Guest-Making

When constructing how the police might understand race hate crimes, the participants focus on the police recognising that the defendant/perpetrators are likely to view, or treat certain persons or social groups, as fundamentally dissimilar from, and foreign to, them.

Extract 135: *'The young woman claimed she was victim of hate crime so I was sent to investigate the report. The young woman explained to us that she was attacked by a group of white men who demanded she remove her scarf' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Extract 136: *'She then went on to describe how he (defendant) told her to 'go back home!. The victim was very upset about this and disgusted how someone could just presume she was not from England. I was born and bred in the England and so were my parents. I have every right to live in the UK' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 17, F:26)*

So it is imagined that the police will encounter instances, where victims are approached by defendant/perpetrators who belief that they *"was not from England"* (Extract 136), as indicated by demanding outward signs such as a headscarf being removed. Here there is a view of out-group members not being culturally aligned to the host culture. Such *Othering* provides a 'Us vs. Them' criterion, whereby the Us is: perceived to embody the norm, and accepted value, whilst the ' Them' is marked by faults, devalued, and subordinated by being classed as less worthy (Perry, 2001; Staszak, 2008). Being classed as an *'Other'*, a *'Non-Native'*, a *'foreigner'* is to grant the Other a *'guest status'*, temporary rather than permanent

right, and thus the call to *'go back home!'* (Extract 136), is a legitimate demand. To be designated as one of our own from being the Other is one of the basic platforms of xenophobia, the fear and hatred that is heard in the following comment;

Extract 137: *'... he said to (I can only suspect) the father, 'you guys don't belong here'. In addition, the father smiled and seemed to be light hearted but the young man went on to ask, 'why are you laughing…nigger' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 11, M:18)*

4.43 Theme 3: Strange Citizen

One theme that is heard when thinking about what a police perspective of religious hate crime, is of the defendant/perpetrator constructing the victim and their group as an unwanted outsider. In doing so, the participants perceive the police as understanding the defendant/perpetrator to perceive the people they attack as 'misfit' to the culture, with aggressive tendencies to alter their in-group lifestyle.

Sub-Theme 1: Marker of non-British Culture

It is understood that the police would hear of the victims being distinguished by their religious, cultural and/or social practices, all of which are not British, and therefore in conflict with the culture and values of the defendant/perpetrator.

Extract 138: *'...woman was wearing a scarf that covered her face and he thought that was wrong. If she is living here, then she shouldn't be allowed to wear it. If they come to our country they should follow the laws of our land, not some foreign country or religion where they stone you or behead you if you do something wrong. He went on to say that we let too many of them into the country, they come here not speaking any English, taking over the area, building mosques and turning it into little Pakistan.' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 11, F:44)*

Extract 139: *'During the trial it emerged that victim was abused due to the fact she was wearing religious clothing' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

Extract 140: *'The events which are believed to be religious hate crime, is the fact that the male who was attacked was wearing their religious dress code which led to the males in question taking offence to the way the man was dressed' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 21, M:19)*

The police are understood to hear the defendant/perpetrators voicing their disapproval of the differences exhibited by the victim, which are criticized for being *"wrong"* (Extract 137), and thus is understood through the notion that they were rule-setting, and defining *'normative'* behaviour for all non-British individuals, by instructing that *"if they come to the country they should follow the laws of our land"* (Extract 138). In this way, the defendant/perpetrators are understood to demarcate what is acceptable and assimilated with the British culture, and what is unacceptable, and thus demanding that people *"shouldn't be allowed to wear it [religious dress]"* (Extract 138).

It is unsurprising that religious dress is understood as the basis of victimisation, given that religious outfit is a marker for religious intolerance (Dreher, 2006; Poynting, 2002; Poynting and Noble, 2004). According to Chakraborti and Zempi (2012), there is a compelling need to increase the awareness of gendered Islamophobia to improve the understanding of hate crimes experienced by veiled Muslim women in public spaces. This is even more important as Muslim women are significantly more likely to experience religiously-motivated hate crime victimisation as their religious identity is more transparent (Perry & Alvi, 2012).

<u>Sub-Theme 2: Victim as a de-stability agent</u>

The perceived 'improperness' of the victim religion as a destabiling influence is something that the participants believe the police will be aware about in considering religious hate crime.

Extract 141: *'Jews ruined the peace and were to blame for the hardship experienced by the Arabs…Seeing these wealthy, arrogant Jews having so much fun together whilst his nation suffered was wrong' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 4, M:49)*

Extract 142: *'He (defendant) also said he hated foreigners who came over here taking our jobs and clogging up our public services' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 6, M:52)*

Extract 143: *'The male said that some of the comments included things such as "you don't belong here and go home"' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 21, M:19)*

The common account the police are expected to encounter then, is the defendant/perpetrators voicing complaints that foreigners take up valuable resources, *"clogging up public services"* (Extract 142), and a sense of displacement being experienced due to the victims, who are perceived to be *"taking our jobs"* (Extract 142). Stephan and Renfro (2002) presented that when people are in direct competition for resources, there is an increased risk of intergroup threat, therefore people will engage in derogation of out-group to gain power and dominance over the available resources. The realistic threat outlined in ITT (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989, 1992, 2000; Stephan et al., 2009) can have a direct impact on a group, and their experiences of threat from an out-group, affecting power, resource distribution, and the welfare of the in-group. Even when the threat is perceived rather than it actually existing, it can have realistic consequences for the group e.g. financial loss and loss of resources. Hence, members of the in-group are motivated to engage in discriminatory behaviour to maintain their dominance and control over resources, by reaffirming their superior position.

Extract 144: *'defendant stated "it was his country…nobody was going to tell him where he could go"… he said that she (victim) had asked him to leave the park so her children could play and he (defendant) wasn't going anywhere… We should just send them all back' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 11, F:44)*

This destabilising agent perception can be witnessed in the attributions directed towards the victims of religious hate crimes.

Extract 145: *'he joked about the bigger of the two children having a bomb' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 11, F:44)*

Extract 146: *'He insisted during the trial that he was not racist but become involved in the attack because the victim was acting suspiciously and he wanted to prevent any terror attacks' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 15, F:30)*

Extract 147: *'I [police] attended a first at the Belfast City Centre synagogue…an elderly gentleman who was inside the synagogue at the time…showed me picture of a youth he claimed had threw the petrol bomb…he [defendant/perpetrator] is well known to us in the local force as a persistent troublemaker' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 20, M:45)*

So again, we hear in the stories that police may encounter when investigating religious hate crimes, is the notion of the destabilising impact of perceiving people as potential bombers, causing people to always be watchful and attentive. For instance, in one of the extracts, the defendant/perpetrator plead to be *"not racist"*, and only intercepted as the victims was *"acting suspiciously"*, thus the defendants/perpetrators are imagined to act in ways to uphold safety and security, by wanting *"to prevent any further attacks"* (Extract 146).

4.5 Normalisation of Hate Environment

In this meta-theme, what is heard exclusively came from the victim perspectives and stories from two sites – the unspecified and race hate crime stories. Here the suggestion is about the 'ordinariness' of hate crimes (see. Chakraborti, 2014), namely, the *'banality of the context'* for the victims. The general public thus understand the victims of hate crimes to be accustomed to their victimisation with everyday *'microaggression'* (Wheeler, 2016); subtle insidious incident at the hands of the defendant/perpetrators.

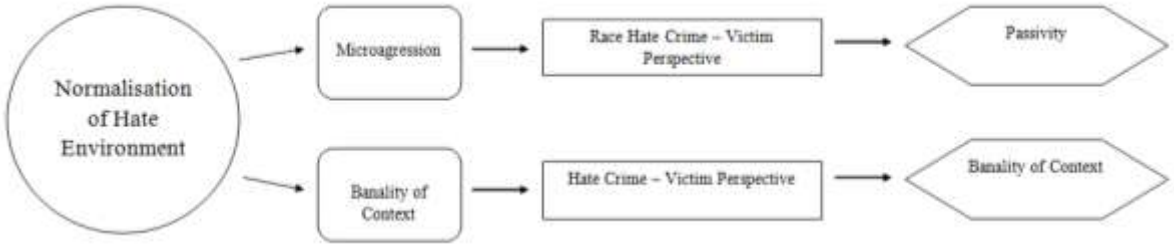

Figure 13. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of normalisation of hate environment, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 13

Names and Definitions of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of Normalisation of Hate Environment.

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
Normalisation of Hate Environment	Microaggression	Verbal or behavioural insults that communicate negative, hostile, and prejudicial outlook towards groups, particularly marginalised groups.	• Passivity	• Subtle discomforting acts of intolerance. • 'Dismissive tolerance' and a sense of helplessness.
	Banality of Context	Hate crimes are evident in all aspects of the victim's everyday life.		• Every day event that just happen in the area, near the vicinity of the home without any warning.

4.51 Theme 1: Micro-aggression

One of the identifiable themes when constructing victim perspective of hate crime, is the recognition that the acts can be constituted as racially intolerant, deduced by understanding climate of the occasion as being racially/religiously charged. Hence intolerance is deemed from subtle acts that are discomforting. So beyond the explicit racial abuse, the participants also suppose that victims understand hate crime victimisation from wilful micro-aggression (Berk, 2017; Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal & Torino, 2008). Here then, the climate of a situation which acts to make the person feel uneasy because of their race/religion, is voiced.

Extract 148: *'A couple in their 30's started to point at me…as a Syrian refugee, I found these a 'dig at my race' and recent status in the UK' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 2, F:36)*

Extract 149: *'One man was very vocal. After a few minutes, I noticed that his shouted comments were focussed on one particular black player who was playing for his team. A lot of his comments were very racist and threatening in nature…I think this man should have been handed over to the police and charged with racial abuse and threatening behaviour' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 6, M:58)*

Extract 150: *'It was clear that I was targeted because of my faith, and because I am not white' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Extract 151: *'As he (the defendant) began to realise that all he had in his pocket was loose change, he began to swear and talk about how things were so different before all these foreigners came into the country' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 8, F:32)*

Extract 152: *'I saw a cluster of young people crowded like penguins, as I edged closer to them they all turned and looked at me like it was feeding time at the zoo' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 11, M:18)*

Extract 153: *'with the increase in terror attacks over the past few years, I have seen people act in a different manner towards myself and my family. We receive more looks, people would be more evasive towards us and call us names more often' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 12, M:22)*

Extract 154: *'It was clear that the man had just said something about me as he was pointing at me and laughing' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 16, F:23)*

Extract 155: *'The two boys were pointing at me and making fun, asking why I dress the way I do and if my parents are working for ISIS' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 19, F:28)*

Social cues can govern positive and negative social interactions, therefore verbal and non-verbal expressions are fundamental to social stability. In these quotes, the spotlighting of victims is a consistent construction, with understanding their victimisation to be a consequence of them not being *"white"*. For example, *"laughing"* is a mechanism to humiliate the victims as it communicate and maintain social order, as laughter unifies people who laugh at their target (Billig, 2005), rendering them as undesirable, thus confirming their minority, subordinate position in society, compared to the in-group.

Sub-Theme 1: Passivity

The constructions of the victim perspectives articulate ways in which the experience of hate crime is imagined to be handled by recipients of such crimes. The basic understanding of how the victims respond is by them adopting a passive position. In this theme, one of the responses storied in responding to the defendants of race hate crime, is that of *'dismissive tolerance'.*

Extract 156: *'I ignored them but they continued to follow me...their behaviour was very negative with comments such as "what are you doing here? Go home". I chose to ignore their behaviour and thought nothing of it' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 2, F:36)*

Extract 157: *'…he began to swear…I refused to respond' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 8, F:32)*

Extract 158: *'I stood aside to let this guy go before me, when he pushed in front and said, 'I am before the Paki'. I never said anything' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 9, M:49)*

Extract 159: *'I heard their footsteps but I didn't think anything of it…I ignored them and quickened my step, trying to pretend I hadn't heard them' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 15, F:46)*

Extract 160: *'I heard someone shouting, "Don't look at us you ugly Paki bastard!". I never said anything' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 16, F:23)*

The participants are understood to handle victimisation by ignoring or trivialising these events. It is reasonable to suggest that the idea of victims of hate crimes dismissing their victimisation can result on reporting of such event. This passivity can be heard in some of the stories told that suggest a sense of helplessness would be felt by the victim.

Extract 161: *'I froze in panic, not really knowing what to do' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 13, F:53)*

Extract 162: *'I can't fight back, so I curl up in a ball and try to protect myself. I think about my mum and how she tells me to ignore the taunts and not get into fights, but it's not my fault, they started on me. I think of the injustice of it all and the fact that I can do nothing' (Race Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 15, F:48)*

So statements pertain to *"not really knowing what to do"* (Extract 161), *"can do nothing"*, nor can they *"fight back"* (Extract 162). This reveals a view that victims of hate crimes are impotent to such actions. The learned helplessness hypothesis (Abramson, Garber & Seligman, 1980; Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978) suggests that those who perceive their situation and respective outcomes, to be uncontrollable, are more likely to suffer from cognitive, motivational, and emotional deficits. The motivational deficits mean that individuals resist from initiating action through the expectation that such action is fruitless. The cognitive deficit is linked to the lack of insight that certain responses can produce certain

outcomes, therefore the individual fails to note the link between the causes of the outcome. Subsequently, this leads to emotional reactions and depression, as a person learns that particular outcomes are irrelevant through given causes. The focal point of the hypothesis is the cognitive deficit that is experienced by individuals.

4.52 Theme 2: Banality of Context

A second theme constructed from the social imagination of the victim perspective narrates hate crime experiences to be customary practice of British life, as stories have constructed that any provocation for the incidence recur. They are acts seen as everyday life events, with nothing exceptional, in marking out the day.

Extract 163: *'It was an ordinary Thursday evening, I had just left office after working late. As I walked down the high street, it became apparent that a man from the pub was following me' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 6, M:22)*

Extract 164: *'…this afternoon at approximately 2:50pm I was walking to pick my daughter up from school when I was suddenly attacked by a man walking in the opposite direction' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 19, F:19)*

Extract 165: *'I was on the bus travelling home from work, when I was surrounded by a gang of Asian Youths…one of the men…started getting verbally abusive, making derogatory comments about being a white woman' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 9, F:41)*

Extract 166: *'…transgender female…who was just sitting on a bus on the way home…group of teenage boys…started making fun of her…calling Sophie names such as "tranny" and started throwing small objects at her' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 10, F:27)*

Extract 167: *'Last Friday at around 8:30pm, I had just got off the train to my hometown and needed to use public toilet…I decided to go into a local pub…I heard men who were in the bar…shouting "get out you dirty pervert! You're no woman'' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 13, F:39)*

Extract 168: *'I had my 20 minute tube journey…I took a seat in a quiet carriage…I was surrounded by three white males…shouting things at me like "rag head", "terrorist scum"*

and saying that my people were "the bastards to blame for the Paris attacks"' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 17, F:21)

Extract 169: *'I was walking down the street on a Saturday evening, coming home from work…I noticed a gang of white males…I panicked as they approached me, chanting and pointing directly at me' Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

These quotes support hate crime literature (Herek et al., 2002; Mason 2005; Perry, 2001), which acknowledges victims recounting their victimisation, in terms of ordinariness of their everyday life. The attacks taking place at any time, and in any place, is emphasised in the story creator imaginations of the victims. What this indicates is that people understand hate crimes are not being remarkable events, which are carefully planned and executed, rather they are more sporadic and open, and indeed there is a banality to the context in which these hate crimes take place.

In the participants storying the '*banality of context'* for the victims, they appear to draw on the concept of *"doing 'being ordinary'"* (Sacks, 1984b, as cited in Wooffitt, 2005). Sacks observed that when people are reporting on extraordinary and unusual events (e.g. hijacking or shooting), they do so in a routine and predictable manner, as to underline their own normality. In doing so, people tend to employ a method identified as *"At first I thought … then I realised"* (Wooffitt, 2005; p. 103), where although the first assumptions are always incorrect, the format allows story-tellers to narrate that they did not think anything untoward, or exceptional, was happening. On the other hand, Wooffitt (1992, as cited in Wooffitt, 2005) reported that conversation analysis reveals that speakers may demonstrate the *'ordinariness'* of an event using the descriptive device of *"I was doing X … when Y"*. The *"I was doing X"* usually portrays the routine, mundane, or normal features of the environment, whereas *"when Y",* denotes the first consciousness that something improper is taking place. The above extracts support Sacks and Wooffitts observations, as participants story the victims to be doing routine and ordinary activities, such as *"walking"*, *"sitting on a bus"*, or a *"tube"*, or using the *"toilet"* in a *"local pub"* (Extracts 44 to 50), before showing awareness of something improper happening to them e.g. being *"followed"*, *"attacked"*, or being subjected to verbal abuse. In this way, story-tellers demonstrate normality at the time of the unusual

and unexpected event, but also, the X formulations can emphasise, or further construct, the ordinariness of their environment.

So the stories frequently narrate a view, whereby victims of hate crime tell that they are in a nondescript situation;

Extract 170: *'I was sat waiting at the bus stop on Smithson Road at 7pm on Sunday 1st March' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 1, F:47)*

Extract 171: *'I had been town shopping this particular Saturday morning…I went to the local petrol station to fill up with petrol for the next week of work' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 8, F:37)*

Extract 172: *'I was walking home from my local mosque after an afternoon of worship' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 12, F:25)*

Extract 173: *'I was walking on my own home from the shops' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 14, F:19)*

The experiences are then understood to spontaneously occur at any place from *"bus stop"* (Extract 170), *"petrol station"* (Extract 171), or *"shops"* (Extract 171, 173).

Extract 174: *'I was on my way home' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 7, M:24)*

Extract 175: *'We were sitting at home in our new house when we heard shouting in the street. It got louder and the group of people stepped outside my home' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 11, F:28)*

Extract 176: *'I was outside my home and walking down my drive, into my house' (Hate, Victim Perspective, Participant 12, F:25)*

Equally, the participants note that individuals are vulnerable to hate incidents near their place of residence. This idea reiterates the vulnerability of victims, given that this theme identifies that victimisation can occur anytime, and in any place.

Hate crime literature is abundant with empirical studies and official data analysis, reporting that hate crimes are committed close to the victim's turf, or in the vicinity of their home (see. Strom, 2001). With victimisation understood to take place at (or close to) the victims home, the fear that it perhaps evokes, may increase social isolation with victims confining themselves within their home, subsequently leading to emotional reactions such as depression, anxiety, and PTSD (Abu-Ras & Squarez, 2009; Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003). With this theme then, the ordinariness of hate crime (Chakraborti, 2014) is underscored by the ordinariness of the day in which it is seen to frequently occur.

4.6 Action Accounting

Another stand-alone theme, namely a theme that could not be amalgamated into a meta-theme, was the understanding of the defendant/perpetrator explaining their actions. So in the police perspective in the race hate story, the participants perceive the defendant/perpetrators to justify their actions as defending themselves, their group, or a worldview. In this way, the defendant/perpetrators are understood to deny culpability, thus supporting the Neutralisation Theory (see. Sykes & Matza, 1957 as cited in Van Baak, Hayes, Freilich & Chermak, 2018). The theory includes 'five techniques' of denial: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties" (Van Baak et al., 2018, p.189). The first two techniques involve the defendant perpetrators attributing actions to external sources beyond their control (e.g. intoxication), or suggesting no idea of injury to their victim. However, the perspective in this study suggests the third technique is the one the general public perceive the defendant/perpetrators to use - blame the victims for their plight (the victim is the wrongdoer), thus advocating that their victimisation was deserved. The fourth technique, whereby the defendant/perpetrators would shift the blame to those who disapprove of their actions (e.g. the police), implying that people who question their action are biased in 'favouring' an out-group, was not one seen in the stories told. Finally, the fifth technique of 'appeal to higher loyalties' suggests that the

defendant/perpetrators act disregard the law, as they feel their actions are to uphold values or belief systems, that are greater than the need to comply with legal boundaries. This ‘defensive strategy’ (see. McDevitt et al., 2002) was observed in the stories told.

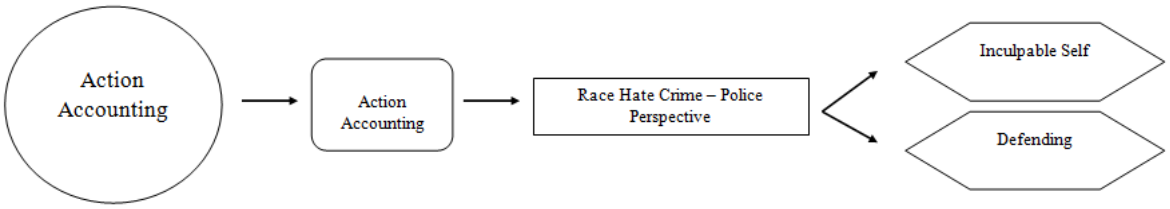

Figure 14. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of action accounting, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 14

Names and Definitions of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of Account Accounting.

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
Action Accounting	Action Accounting	Defendant/perpetration construction of their actions to Self.	Inculpable Self	• Understanding that the defendant/perpetrator absolves themselves from any wrong doing.
			Defending	• Act construed to as targeted to defend a person or a worldview.

4.61 Theme 1: Action Accounting

Sub-Theme 1: Inculpable Self

Within the theme of action accounting, the police are seen to be likely to encounter defendant/perpetrator who positions themselves to the incident in a way that absolves the self from any wrong doing. In the stories told, the police are likely to encounter their inculpable self, whereby either justifying the act, denying guilt, or diminished responsibility on the basis of substance intoxication, is used.

Extract 177: *'The suspects, who had been drinking, claim that they are not guilty of racial hate crime' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 8, F:32)*

Extract 178: *'He (defendant) showed no regret in his actions…He showed no remorse and pleaded guilty showing great passion about "kicking all Muslims out"' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 12, M:22)*

Extract 179: *'When asked if they had been involved in an altercation with the shop owner they stated that they hadn't been involved in anything relating to the shop owner' (Religious Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 16, F:25)*

Extract 178 write that the defendant/perpetrator confirmed their involvement in race hate crimes by *"pleaded guilty",* for they were on a mission to *"kicking all Muslims out"*. Another stance of defendant/perpetrators that police officers are imagined to encounter, is denial. McDevitt et al. (2002) assert that some perpetrators make it a purpose in life to identify and target certain groups. Doing this, it is imagined that the defendant/perpetrators to exonerate themselves by admitting the offense, and reason that their actions are justified part of a campaign.

Alternatively, in Extracts 177 and 179, the defendant/perpetrators are stories to deny committing a crime, claiming that they *"hadn't been involved in anything"*, consequently, are *"not guilty of racial hate crime"*. The involvement and motivation of the perpetrators in such hate crime events can be ambiguous, as the victim alleges the perpetrator to be involved, and

engage in bias motivated crime, yet the alleged defendant/perpetrators deny such accusations made towards them. The police are compelled to look for other sources of evidence (e.g. witness statements), that can be used to confirm that a hate crime has taken place. The lack of witness or other evidence, can see the perpetrator/defendant walk free, with the victim feeling that they have not received justice, ensuing poor relations between the victims and the police (Corcoran, Lader & Smith, 2015; Sandholtz et al., 2013).

Sub-Theme 2: Defending

Part of the understanding that the police are likely to encounter when interacting with defendant/perpetrators, is that they will hear that the actions were targeted to defend a specific person, or defendant aspect of the person's worldview.

Extract 180: *'…the white guy thought he was trying to defend the cashier (from the black guy)…[the] defendant agrees with and votes for UKIP. His great grandfather was murdered by a black person so has always held hate' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 4, M:22)*

Extract 181: *'…during the trial, when questioned what his excuse for attacking the woman was, the man simply shrugged and said he was protecting his country' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 7, F:19)*

Extract 182: *'He (the defendant) was very passionate about seeking revenge. His brother had recently been murdered in a terrorist attack plotted by the Islamic state' (Race Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 12, M:22)*

According to SIT (Tajfel, 1968; 1972) and SCT (Turner et al., 1987), people have a tendency to categorise themselves into group based on similarities with another person, especially in the presence of those seen to be 'different'. In these accounts, it is argued that the police will hear accounts from defendant/perpetrators, whereby all individuals of a certain group will be stereotyped, based on their experiences or knowledge of a certain individual who belongs to that group, hence that group becomes an out-group. So Extract 180 imagines the defending of

the cashier who is associated as an in-group member (from being White) from an out-group member (Black man); Extract 181 reasons that the defendant/perpetrator is *"protecting his country"*, since a black person killed their "*great grandfathers"*, and, another participant narrates the defendant/perpetrator *"seeking revenge"* in response to the *"terrorist attack"* in which his brother was killed.

4.7 Police Competency

Despite the general agreement in literature on hate crime policing that there is a lack of trust in policing (Mason, McCulloch & Maher, 2016; Wickes et al., 2016), and the view that police may not take hate crime victimisation seriously (see. Anderson et al., 2002), in this study, a stand-alone theme in the story reflected the engagement of the police with the hate crime incidents, denoting law enforcers as serious in their efforts to investigate such incident. The fact the public stories image this of the police, highlight that the general public may well believe that this is a worthy phenomenon to be addressed with intent.

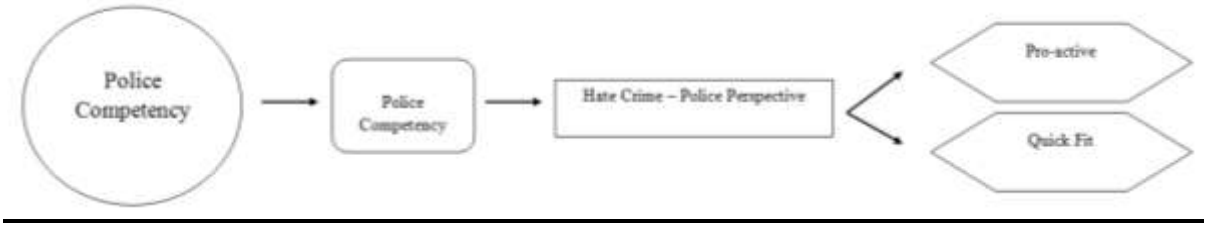

Figure 15. Themes and sub-themes within the meta-theme of police competency, as generated from the named hate crime and perspective type.

Table 15

Names and Definitions of Themes and its Sub-Themes in the Meta-Theme of Police Competency.

Meta-Theme	Theme	Definition of Theme	Sub-Themes (Plots in the story)	
Police Competency	Police Competency	Policing Hate Crimes.	• Pro-active • Quick Fit	• Engagement with incident. • Culprit already on police radar (community police knowledge).

4.71 Theme 1: Police Competency

A theme constructed from the public about their understanding of a police perspective on hate crime, the expectation of what policing is necessary, so as to address the issue. This theme constructs the readiness of police investigation in gathering evidence and the outcome.

Sub-Theme 1: Pro-Active

As with any other incident in which the police respond to, there is an expectation that the police will be proactive in gathering details of the incident.

Extract 183: '*We had a call reporting the incident and sent people to investigate. We took a description of the incident' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 11, F:28)*

Extract 184: *'I spoke to Mr Singh regarding the incidents and took all the information' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 12, F:25)*

Extract 185: *'The crime does seem to be unprovoked however there are suspicions that this may have been a race or religious related crime. The case will undergo further investigations' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 17, F:21)*

While this is an unexceptional idea of how the police ought to engage with any crime, there is a confidence displayed by the participants in the construction of the police that the basic investigative processes will be initiated.

Sub-Theme 2: Quick Fit

Extract 186: *'Some of the descriptions fitted people known to us and we tracked them down' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 11, F:28)*

From the construction of the police perspective, it seems that participants anticipate the ready identification of a suspect.

Extract 187: *'Given their description, it did not take long to find him, and when we did it was obvious that he was very inebriated' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 6, M:22)*

Extract 188: *'... able to identify the attacker out of a line-up' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 7, M:24)*

Extract 189: *'Later on that evening we conducted checks on our database and found the man people had been describing to us' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 16, F:20)*

Extract 190: *'police were able to identify that she was the attacker instantly as behind her was the can of spray paint used to vandalise the wall with the paint on her right thumb as well' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 18, M:20)*

The ready identification of the culprit implies that the defendants/perpetrators should be known to the police, but also it can be inferred from the story told here, that hate crimes are a clearly visible phenomenon, as the frequent reference to CCTV alludes to.

Extract 191: *'All of the crimes recorded on CCTV cameras' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 1, F:47)*

Extract 192: *'CCTV in petrol pump led the defendant to be found' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 8, F:37)*

Extract 193: *'Witnesses recall seeing his behaviour becoming increasingly threatening, to the point that they dare not to get involved. This is backed up by CCTV recordings' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 9, F:41)*

Extract 194: *'Evidence of the attack was caught on CCTV from a bar near to the scene of the crime. The CCTV showed girl was touched and talked to aggressively, she was concerned and tormented because of her religion' (Hate, Police Perspective, Participant 20, F:52)*

So rather than hate crimes being invisible, the construction of the police perspective can be seen to voice the apparentness of these crimes. This stands in stark contrast to the internal and unobservable experience of hate crime that is a key feature of this crime, as hate is an internal human emotion which is inferred when some behaviours are displayed. While, with the presence of CCTV camera these behaviours are more detectible. However, research into CCTV effectiveness in reducing crime has suggested that CCTV fails to do so (Lim & Wilcox, 2017; Welsh & Farrington, 2014). One suggestion from this theme is to let the public know that hate crime will be reasoned as prime facie support for the underlying motivation of observable behaviours, at the onset of the investigation.

4.8 Theorising a Link between the Meta-Themes Storied about Hate Crime.

Considering the overall picture of the key constructs identified in the meta-theme analysis, it is theorised that '*Antagonistic Aspersion*' is the bedrock theme of hate crimes as understood by the general public, in drawing on their cultural and social stories of this crime. This understanding contends that this *'antagonistic aspersions'* are driven by intergroup relations, rather than individualistic behaviours, and are nurtured by the meta-themes *'De-facto segregation inclination'*, constructing people as *'alien'*, attempt to '*de-legitimise the "home" status'* of the target, and creating a situation whereby a hostile environment is normalised.

The themes of *'de-facto segregation inclination'*, *'alien'*, *'de-legitimising "home" status'*, and *'normalisation of hostile environment'*, all impact upon each other (they have not been represented on the thematic map for clarity). *'Antagonistic Aspersion'* underpins the point where a person is likely to be seen as hate crime defendant/perpetrators. Therefore, in enacting *'antagonistic aspersion'*, people can be held accountable for their actions. Hence, it is reasonable to see that individuals with *'antagonistic aspersion'* perception will draw on *'action accounting'* theme, to fend off this charge.

'Police competency' as identified as a theme, then can be understood from an institution position, whereby there is a need to be cognisant of the underpinning of *'antagonistic*

aspersion' – hence the need to nurture an institutional awareness of *'de-facto segregation inclination'*, *'alien'*, *'de-legitimisation of "home" status'*, and *'normalisation of hostile environment'*. Therefore, a competent response to hate crime from the police is deemed to be one responding to *'antagonistic aspersion'*, in the awareness of what underpins this view, and a clear awareness of 'action accounting' of defendant/perpetrators.

This theory however is a speculation from the stories generated by participants, rather than the actual cases of hate crime, hence the theory remains just that, the best plausible explanation of the cultural and social understanding of hate crimes from the data gathered.

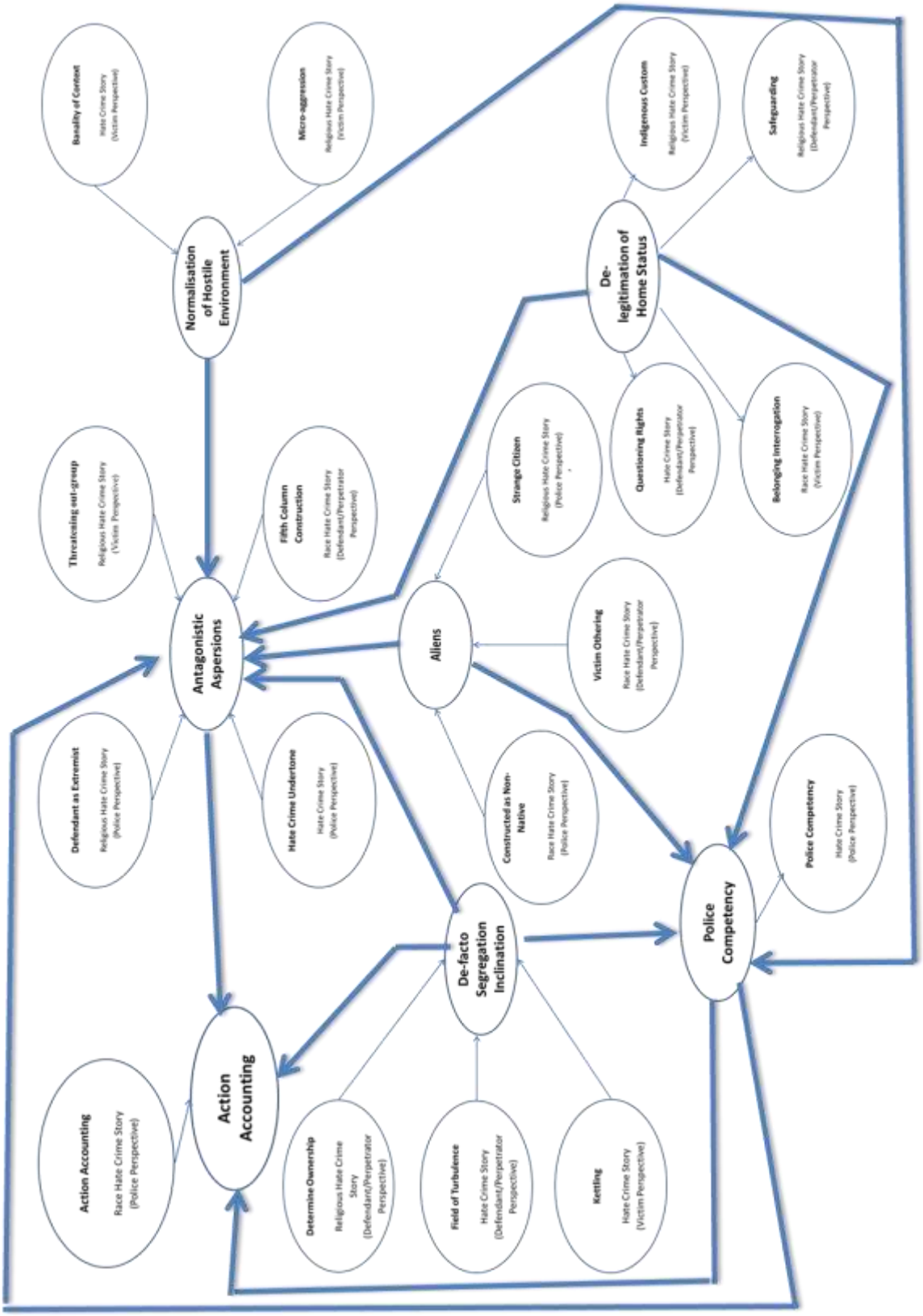

Figure 16. Below presents a thematic map that illustrates the basis of these meta-themes (namely their source themes and sub-themes that constituted the meta-themes) and the theorised relationships between the meta- themes (indicated by the thick blue lines).

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the cultural and social understandings of hate crimes through a story-completion task method. Specifically, the general public's ideas, topics and conjectures around race hate crimes, religious hate crimes, and unspecified hate crimes was identified by thematic analysing their narration of a hate related incident. While the various completed stories provided further psychological, behavioural, and emotional insights, an overall account of the social and cultural understanding of these crimes amongst the general public is absent. Therefore, to map out the territory of hate crimes as understood by the gathered stories told by the participants, a theme meta-analysis was conducted. Namely, all the individual themes identified from the victim, police, and defendant/perpetrator perspectives of the three stories (race hate, religious hate, and unspecified hate crimes) were re-analysed, using thematic analysis to group them together, and explore 'higher level' constructs, which explain the overall construction of hate crime offered in these studies.

The theme meta-analysis of the initial themes resulted in seven meta-themes that explain the understanding of race, religious and unspecified hate crimes amongst the general public. These meta-them were as follows:

1) Aliens
2) De-facto Segregation Inclination
3) De-legitimisation of "Home" Status
4) Normalisation of Hate crimes.
5) Action Accounting
6) Police Competency
7) Antagonistic Aspersion

For ease of discussion, a simplified version of *Figure 16.* is presented below, with themes that manufactured the meta-themes removed, so the links can be clearly visualised.

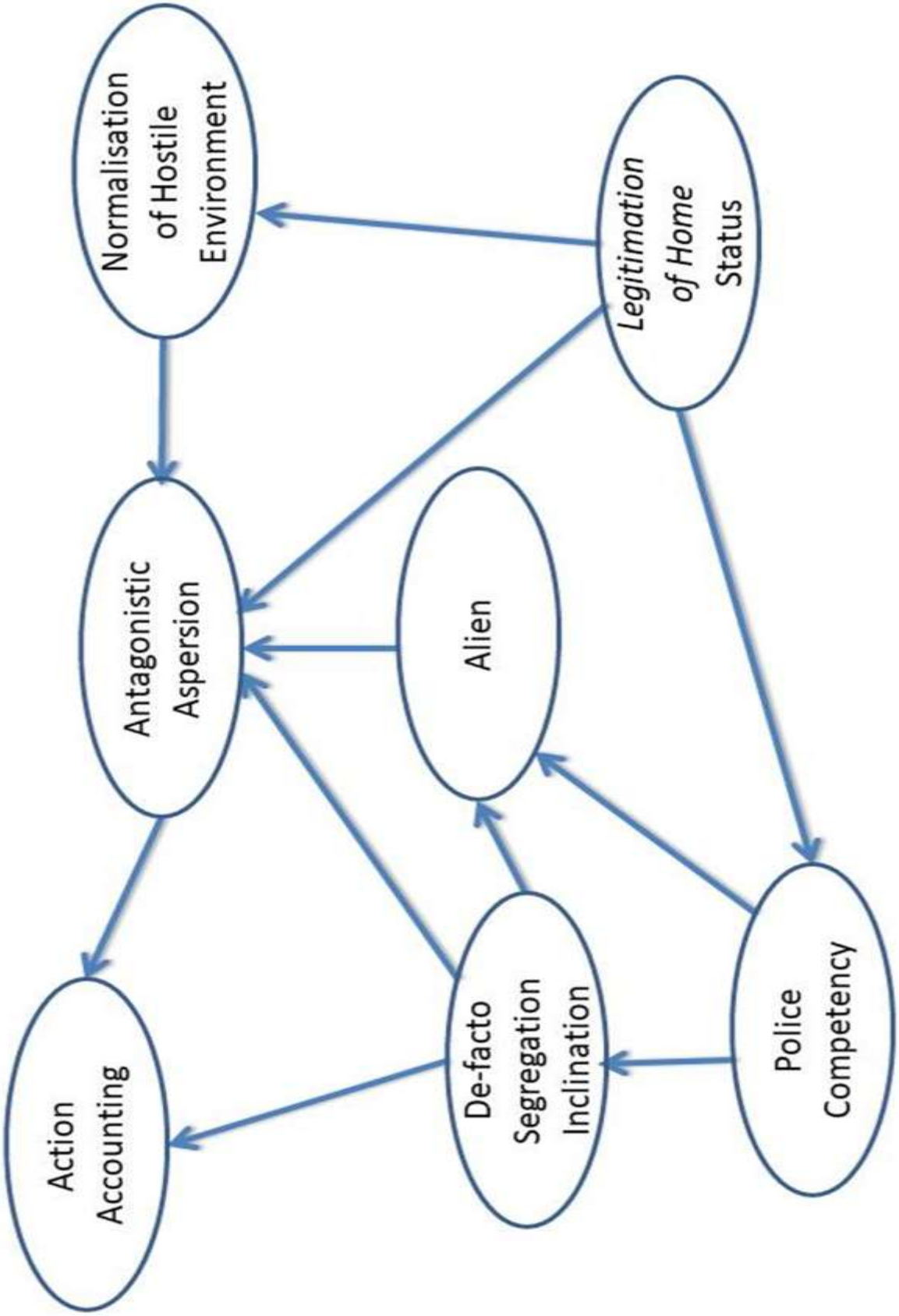

Figure 17. Thematic map of the meta-theme constructed from themes identified in hate crime stories. *Note.* Arrows refer to the speculation of what informs or nurtures the meta-theme identified.

All in all, having considered all the stories of unspecified, race, and religious hate crimes, from the perspectives of the victim, police, and defendant/perpetrators, what can be heard is that certain individuals and groups are more likely to *'identify'*, *'spotlight'*, and (physically and/or verbally) *'attack'* out-groups, and its members. The tension between in-group and out-group members, and its members, was discussed from theoretical positions within social psychology. SIT offers that these intergroup tensions may indicate a person's strive to improve their self-esteem, whilst enhancing the positive distinctiveness of the in-group, whereas SDT advocates incongruence between the in-group vs. out-group to be a contest to compete for valuable resources. Meanwhile, ITT theorises this conflict between groups to result from threat perceptions of the in-group posed by out-group members, who are seen to present realistic and symbolic threats, causing feelings of anxiety within the in-group.

SECTION D:

Although the media reporting of race and religious hate crimes may shape the overall understanding of these crimes e.g. typical location of event, time of day etc., the themes that emerged in chapters 4, like any other phenomena in the human world, are likely to be underpinned by social-psychological mechanisms. As found in study 2 of this thesis, the conceptualisation of hate crimes in the general public suggests that out-group prejudice may stem from perceived incongruence between cultures (e.g. British and non-British cultures). This is consistent with the debate in hate crime literature, as McDevitt et al. (2010) argued that 'hate' is often absent in majority of the so-called hate crime incidents, whilst Garland and Chakraborti (2012) assert that in these cases (where hate motive is not transparent), the incidents may stem from prejudices, or negative feelings by the perpetrator towards certain social groups, who are given an 'outsider-status'.

Despite this, the UK government has refrained from widening the hate crime legislative inclusion to recognise hate crimes against marginalised out-groups (Garland, 2010). Therefore, a large number of crimes that do not have an explicit 'hate' component may not be reported, or may go undetected as a hate crime by the police, if the legislation does not include incidents of out-group prejudice. Moreover, in the absence of a protected category to measure hate crimes against out-groups, these crimes are typically recorded under race or religious hate crimes, dependent on the bias motivation that is visible (Home Office, 2019). For example, hate crimes towards out-groups and its members may be recognised more readily as a race hate crime if there is an overt difference e.g. the victim's race, and/or ethnic differences, such as the language they speak, the traditional ways of life they adopt, and so on.

Alternatively, if the victim understood to be wearing a religious outfit, or any other religious symbols that are understood to lead to the offence, then they will be recorded and investigated as religious hate crimes. In both ways, the underlying motivation and reasons for the perpetrators actions go unnoticed, whilst limiting the understanding of the mechanisms which lead to these crimes e.g. perpetrators intrinsic motivation (i.e. personality, self-esteem) and dislike of the out-group, that is not reducible to the victims race and/or religion. Thus, it

becomes even more important to understand the factors that are understood by the general public to be fundamental in out-group derogation and victimisation. Although, this study perhaps does not include participants who have suffered victimisation (participants were not asked to comment on this in the study) due to their out-group status, or committed hate crime offences due to their dislike of the Other, it does shed light on the potential social-psychological factors that exist in society to explain such victimisation.

This study was then an effort to explain the underlying mechanism of out-group prejudice, and marginalisation of certain racial and religious groups i.e. immigrants. To do this, the study drew on wider social-psychological concepts and theories that have been empirically tested, and associated with prejudice and out-group derogation (Asbrock et al., 2010; Baumeister et al., 2016; Bizumic et al, 2009; Hood et al., 2009). In essence, this study was fulfilling the prophecy of Sullaway (2004) who noted, "psychology can make a contribution to the development and refinement of techniques to collect evidence that best captures the various motivations involved in hate crimes" (p. 272). Although, the study was not focussed on developing or refining techniques to collect evidence, it was interested in providing potential psychological factors that help to explain what motivates hate crime perpetrators.

As outlined in SIA, the perception of disparity in one's own culture and that of an out-group member can lead to feelings of own superiority, especially when one judges its in-group favourably, creating an 'Us vs. Them' ideology. Here then the notion that ethnocentrism (i.e. the practice of judging other cultures and groups based on the values and standards of one's own culture, especially regarding language, behaviours, customs, and religion), may contribute to out-group prejudice, is to be tested empirically. The following chapter is an attempt to test this, as well as look at individual factors (e.g. authoritarianism, self-esteem), and factors that can demarcate intergroup differences (e.g. religion) as noted in psychological theories (Pratto et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2009; Tajfel, 1979). This would give an insight into factors which motivate out-group prejudice, and manifestations of which lead to the phenomenon of hate crimes, as well as the possible factors that can influence the acceptance of ethnic groups.

Chapter 5: Internal psychological variables predicting negative attitudes to out-group(s)

5.1 Introduction

Extensive research has focussed on hostile and discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants and those seen as 'Other' (e.g. immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers) in Europe (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003; Masso, 2009; Pardos-Prado, 2001). The conclusions drawn from these empirical studies suggest that resentments towards immigrants are a consequence of economic vulnerability and ethnic competition for scarce resources (Esses et al., 2001; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014; Oliver & Wong, 2003). Thus, the 'Othered' groups are construed as a threat to national security (with links to anti-national groups), economic security (by impinging on the rights of the native groups), and cultural norm and security (by bringing in different norms, customs, languages, religious beliefs, and values) (Ibrahim, 2005; Stacey, Carpone-Lopez & Rosenfeld, 2011). Nonetheless, concluding negative attitudes towards out-groups to be a by-product of intergroup competition alone, negates the role of the wider psychological, ideological, and cognitive heuristics that can shape attitudes towards individuals and groups (Pardos-Prado, 2011). The wider ideological considerations become more important to understand when trying to understand hate crimes, especially because immigrants, refugees and other similar groups, who by the official status are 'out-groups', are vulnerable to prejudice, and can face animosity and violence due to their racial, religious, and ethnic minority status (Bunar, 2007; Craig, 2002; Perry, 2001).

As noted above, the existence of certain groups can mean that they are the victims of hate crimes due to their official status as an out-group - immigrants occupy this position. However, the frequency of violence towards these groups and its severity is unknown, partly because hate crimes motivated by anti-immigrant sentiments are not recorded as an exclusive category, in other words, hate crime laws in the UK do not recognise immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and other respective groups under separate protected groups (Stacey et al., 2011). In fact, incidents evident of hostility towards immigrants (i.e. (failed), asylum seekers, refugees, and migrant workers) are recordable as race hate crimes (College of Policing, 2014). However, as 78% of hate crimes in the UK in 2017 were racially motivated (Home Office, 2017), it becomes all the more important to ascertain the negative attitudes towards this group.

Nonetheless, hate crime scholarship has focussed comprehensively on victimisation and the aftermath of these crimes (Barnes & Ephross, 1994; Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Christmann & Wong, 2010; Craig & Waldo, 1996; Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003). As a result, research on hate crime perpetrators and the potential causes of directed violence has been limited (Dunbar et al., 2005), especially when focussing on individual traits and differences. This chapter aims to develop the understanding of hate crime perpetrators by investigating how individual differences in psychological traits (e.g. authoritarianism, self-esteem, religiousness and ethnic acceptance) can shape and predict attitudes towards immigrants, which may invariably lead to out-group derogation and violence (i.e. race and religious hate crimes).

Theoretical Perspectives of the factors that lead to offending and its association with the Scales used in this study.

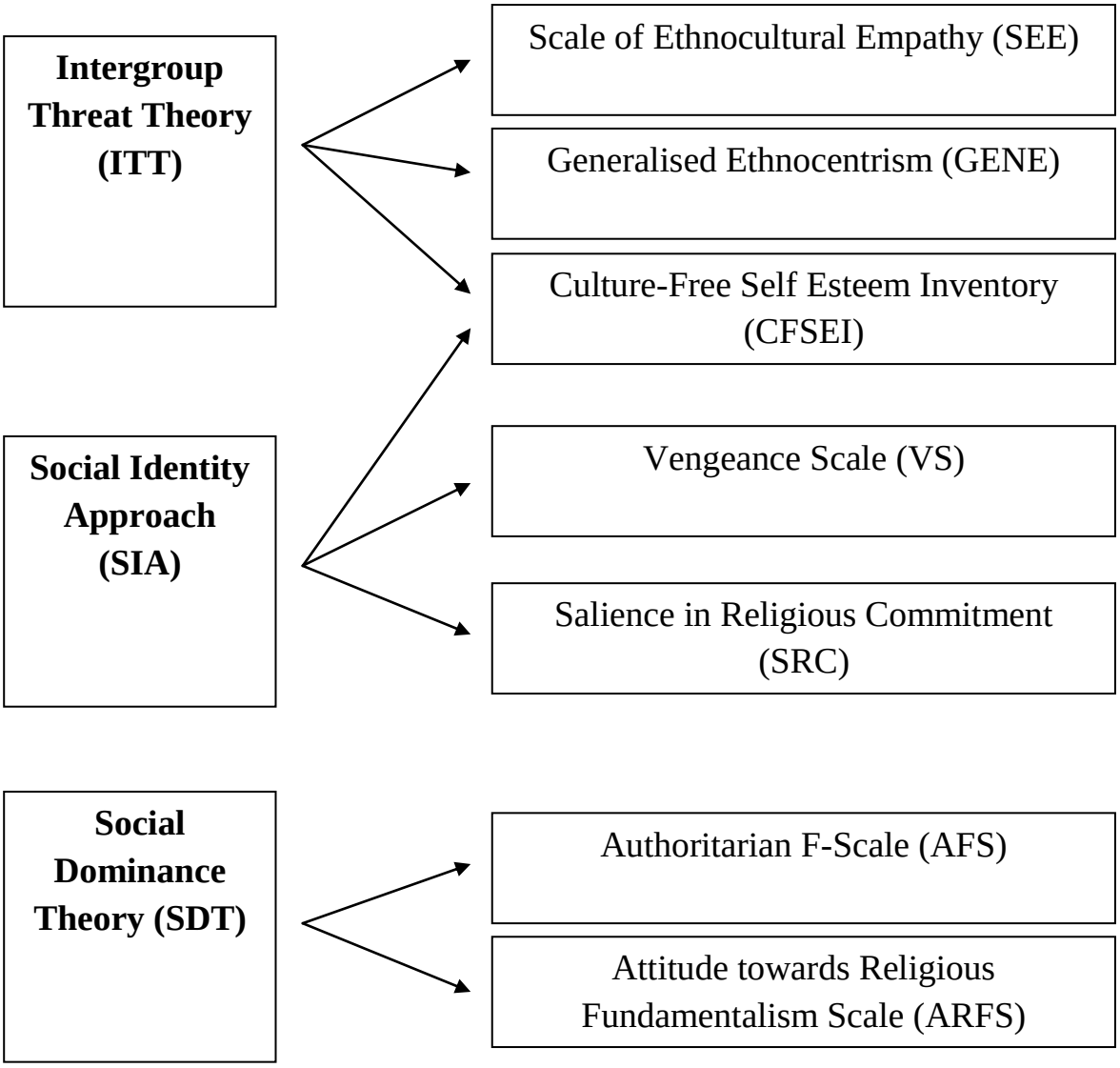

Figure 18. Three Theoretical Models and their component (sub-scales) used to explore/explanation hate-crime.

From a theoretical perspective, the three theories can offer some understanding of the psychological factors that underpin hate crimes; ITT, SIA, and SDT, and each theory is constituted by a number of factors (Figure 18.)

SIT asserts that people are motivated to behave in ways to maintain or enhance their personal and social identity. Therefore, when individuals or groups come into contact with out-groups or its members, they engage in favourable in-group comparison of their in-group compared to a perceived out-group (Knoblock-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010), to increase the positive distinctiveness of the in-group (Martiny & Rubin, 2016). Rubin and Hewstone (2004) proposed that intergroup discrimination can be used to maintain or create a positive view of the group, whilst protecting in-group status, so long as the 'difference' is perceived by in-group members to have a positive value in society. If the comparisons facilitate feelings of superiority of the in-group, then out-group discrimination is likely to continue, to maintain positive view of the self and the respective in-group.

Other research has suggested that individuals who have low self-esteem may also engage in intergroup discrimination to bolster their self-esteem (see. Baumeister et al., 2000; Baumeister & Butz, 2005), yet this discrimination is more 'downward' i.e. towards those groups who are seen as equal or lower in status compared to the in-group (Major, Sciacchitano & Crocker, 1993; Vohs & Heatherton, 2004), and where there is a opportunity of negative comparison of the out-group. Whilst there is support that intergroup discrimination improves in-group distinctiveness, oneness, and self-esteem of group members (see. Castelli & Carraro, 2010; Crisp & Beck, 2005; Hewstone et al., 2002), there have been inconsistencies in supporting the notion that intergroup discrimination is a consequence of low self-esteem (see. Brown, 2000; Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002; Pehrson, Brown & Zagefka, 2009). Yet, it is clear that intergroup discrimination has a psychological effect, even if the psychological cause of it is unknown (Martiny & Rubin, 2016).

ITT (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989a, 1989b, 1992, 2000) theorises that in-groups sense symbolic threat from the out-groups, in that they believe that their values and belief systems are under attack from a foreign group, reducing the individual and group self-esteem of the host group. Subsequently, such groups would be more inclined towards derogation and discrimination towards anyone perceived as an intruder or foreign. As such, negative attitudes towards immigrants are reflected as an effort of the in-group to reduce the level of threat experienced. In support, victimisation based on prejudice has been linked with punctured self-esteem and poor self-concept of the perpetrator (Delisi, Jones-Johnson, Johnson, &

Hochstetler, 2014; Eccleston & Major, 2006). Conventionally, it is held that those with low self-esteem are considerably more likely to exhibit anti-social behaviour and delinquency (see. Walker & Bright, 2009). This is perhaps because there is less trust and confidence in the society, therefore individuals with low self-esteem decrease social conformity and bonding, leading to increased prejudice and subsequent violence (Hewstone, 2015). Alternatively, from a SIT perspective, individuals low in self-esteem strive for positive view of themselves and their in-group, therefore when positive outlook towards the in-group is not readily available, violence towards out-groups is theorised to become necessary to subordinate an out-group and make favourable in-group comparisons, especially when there is limited information of an out-group leading to identity-uncertainty (see. Hogg, 2007). In this way, members of an in-group can reinforce positive distinctiveness and self-concept of the group, and improve self-esteem in the process.

Meanwhile, Tracy and Robbins (2003) argue that individuals with low self-esteem project blame for their failures onto others, to safeguard themselves from feelings of inferiority and shame. Moreover, they conclude that this self-negativity leads to greater hostility and anger towards other people. Conversely, ITT theorises that experiences of threat amongst members with low self-esteem is suggestive of their inability to deal with the out-groups, possibly because they lack confidence, and so, they hold negative attitudes as a coping mechanism to reduce the level of threat experienced. This view is contradictory to SIT, which suggests that low self-esteem results in collective narcissism (i.e. resentment for insufficient external recognition of in-group's importance; see. Larkin & Fink, 2019) amongst in-group members, which can become a motivation to engage in out-group discrimination and hostility, to improve self-esteem and positive outlook of the in-group (Dyduch-Hazar, Mrozinski & Golec de Zavala, 2019; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Conversely, other researchers have argued that aggression and violence is more a trait of those with high self-esteem (Baumeister, et al., 2000), as individuals with narcissistically inflated view of the self are more likely to use violence against those who disagree with their opinion (Baumeister et al., 1996; Baumeister, et al., 2000). Thus, violence becomes a method to defend favourable views about the self (and the group), and those who dispute it (Salmivalli, 2001). According to ITT, this is more common for members who are highly affiliated with the group, as they perceive greater symbolic threat to the group values, and thus resort to discriminatory behaviours to maintain the status quo.

Mapping of the factors onto the theories of SIT, SDT and ITT

A summary of the link between each factor and its relevance to the three theories of SIT, SDT, and ITT as discussed in the previous section is presented here.

Self-esteem is a key concept within SIT and ITT, as both the theories are concerned with self-worth, even though SIT discusses self-esteem with regards to personal and social identity, whereas ITT is only concerned with the positive appraisal of the in-group through threat reduction. Vengeance has been mapped onto SIT, as when the positive appraisal or distinctiveness of the group is challenged, then members of the in-group are more likely to engage in out-group derogation, hence a form of vengeance directed towards out-groups to restore distinctiveness of the group is evident. However, vengeance is more common from highly affiliated group members who strive to maintain enhanced self-esteem. Similarly, religious groups can have high group salience, therefore it is believed that religious commitment would map onto SIT, due to the strong social identity and inclusiveness resulting from the in-group status (i.e. religion) of the members.

SDT explains the behaviours of individuals who support group based hierarchies. Individuals high on SDO are more likely to engage in prejudice towards those of disadvantaged position, or those seen to a threatening group in society, thus they have a greater inclination to HE-LM's. The arbitrary set-based social systems (e.g. race, ethnicity, and religious affiliation) are suggested to produce group-based inequalities, with the in-group derogating out-groups to maintain the social dominance by enforcing strict adherence to the in-group norms. Thus authoritarianism and religious fundamentalism are understood to map onto SDT, as both traits advocate strict adherence to the prescribed ethos of the state, or beliefs and traditions of the religion.

It is assumed that ethnocultural empathy and ethnocentrism map onto ITT as they are both based in the evaluation of out-groups. If there are no intergroup threats experienced from the co-habiting out-group, then there is more likely to be positive interaction and favourable

outlook to that out-group leading to more out-group empathy. However, if in-group perceives realistic and symbolic threats due to the *"difference"* of the out-group(s), then ethnocentric views may follow, resulting in negative appraisal and discrimination of out-group members.

These are proposed as a means to explain out-group derogation based on findings from literature on the association between the social-psychological traits mentioned above, and the potential explanations that can be given from a social psychological perspective. These factors can be interchangeable between the theories, depending on the research enquiry and proposed research questions or hypotheses.

Ethnocentrism and Ethnocultural Empathy

These values (i.e. language, behaviour, customs, religion, etc.) can only be adjudged by the existence of other groups leading to ethnocentrism (Hammond & Axelrod, 2006). As mentioned previously, ethnocentrism is the practice of judging other cultures and groups based on the values and standards of one's own culture, especially regarding language, behaviours, customs, and religion. These categories are specific to one's ethnicity and they make-up the foundations of cultural identity, thus drawing on its favourability can lead to positive distinctiveness, and sense of superiority for the group and its members. Research highlights that individuals who are high on ethnocentrism will derogate out-groups, even when they have no direct contact with that group, and they do not present any competition (Altemeyer, 2004; Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012; Bizumic, Duckitt, Popadic, Dru, & Krauss, 2009). This is similar to the notion offered by ITT that the mere presence of an out-group, and the potential realistic or symbolic threat that they can present to the in-group, is sufficient in inducing threat perceptions. In contrast, ethnocultural empathy is the ability to feel an individual's emotional condition, from the point of view of that person's racial ethnic or culture (Hansen, 2010). Therefore, in contradiction to ethnocentrism, ethnocultural empathy should facilitate acceptance of the out-group, and harmony between different ethnic and cultural identities.

Studies have concluded that people who are high on ethnocultural empathy have a more accepting outlook towards differences, and people and are generally less prejudiced

(Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). However, intergroup contact is marked with intergroup anxiety, hence people are less likely to engage in such pro-social discourse with out-group members, due to feelings of apprehension (Stephan & Stephan, 1995; 2000). Consequently, in-group members continue to praise the in-group, whilst holding negative stereotypes and prejudice against unfamiliar out-groups. Similarly, out-groups such as immigrants are seen presenting a realistic and symbolic threat, as they are seen to be impinging on economic and other resources, therefore it would be expected immigrants and similar groups, would be evaluated negatively with reduced ethnocultural empathy towards them. Immigrants can clearly be understood as having the official status of being an out-group, and being the targets of hate crimes, as they have less contestable and unambiguous out-group status, compared to the five protected groups. Hence, examining factors underpinning ethnocentrism and ethnocultural empathy, in relation to these groups, will afford a clearer understanding, that can potentially be extrapolated to the five protected groups.

Religion

Another factor shaping ethnic and cultural identity is religion. Religion is believed to advocate fairness, love, respect, and peace (Williamson, Bishop, & Hood, 2014). However religiousness, and especially fundamentalist religious values, have been linked to prejudice against women, homosexuality, and religious/ethnic out-groups (Hood, Hill, & Spilka, 2009). Research has argued that people who are more religious tend to have an increased inclination to negative attitudes and hostility towards dissimilar groups (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Leak & Finken, 2011). The hostilities may arise from perceptions of threat, which arise from the presence of contradictory ideologies and beliefs, in a given social environment. Thus there is a perceived need to defend the validity of their religious beliefs (Brandt & Reyna, 2010; Goplen & Plant, 2015). Hunsberger and Jackson (2005) suggested religious fundamentalism has the most consistent relationship with prejudice from all the different measures of religiousness. However, Brandt and Van Tongeren (2017) suggested that people who are highly religious, and those who are non-religious (low on religiousness), both show a similar dislike of groups that are different from one's own. This possibly reflects their rigid style of thinking about their religious beliefs as being superior, thus they have an

authoritarian outlook towards their religion (Hill, Terrell, Cohen, & Nagoshi, 2010; Laythe, Finkel, and Kirkpatrick, 2001).

The Social Identity Approach (SIA) would argue that individuals who are highly religious identify with an in-group (i.e. people with similar religious beliefs), hence they value their group as being more positive, at the same time as negatively stereotyping out-groups (Riek et al., 2006; Yuki, 2003), to maintain this perception towards their in-group. So this in-group favourability and affiliation, and desire for positive distinctiveness of the group, leads to prejudice and discrimination when there is a threat to the group's distinctiveness.

Social Dominance Theory (SDT; Pratto et al., 2006; Sidanius et al., 2004) would argue that groups are organised as denoting different levels of hierarchy, hence religious groups that have a greater leaning towards their religious beliefs, arguably view their religion as advanced in the hierarchy, and/or more civilised than other religions. Therefore, prejudiced and negative attitudes towards immigrants would be expected, especially towards those immigrants who are from different religious backgrounds, as they are seen to pose a threat to the superiority to the religious values, traditions, and belief systems of the socially dominant group.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarians were described as rigid thinkers who obey authority, at the same time as enforcing strict adherence to social rules, norms, and hierarchies (Kemmelmeier, 2010). Thus, people who are high on authoritarianism are more likely to favour prejudice and discrimination of lower status groups and minorities (Choma et al., 2018; Passini, 2017). Despite the criticism directed towards authoritarian personal put forth by Adorno and colleagues (Adorno et al., 1950), due to lack of supporting evidence, the theory does hold in predicting prejudice. Right-wing authoritarianism (a politically conservative form of authoritarianism) has been documented to favour prejudice (Asbrock, Sibley & Duckitt, 2010; Laythe et al., 2001). Also, people who categorise their social environment, and the group within it, hierarchically, are significant more likely to discriminate against lower status

and low power groups. The SDT asserts that people behave in accordance to their prejudiced and discriminatory attitudes and ideologies (Hodson & Dhont, 2015). Also, individuals high on authoritarianism emphasise conformity and obedience to the norms, thus they are more likely to support institutions in line with their ideology (Pratto, Stallworth, & Conway-Lanz, 1998). At the same time, hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myth (HE-LM) are ideologies that contribute greater group-based inequalities (e.g. racism), supporting those who are in advantaged position, and facilitates oppression of the minority and out-groups. Consequently, authoritarians may favour institutions and rules that lead to derogation and negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Individuals who experience prejudice and perceive injustice are motivated to seek revenge on those who have belittled them or their group (McKee & Feather, 2008). Studies into post-victimisation experiences of hate victims suggest that there may be a greater likelihood of retaliation from the victim and their groups (Craig, 1999). According to SIA, marginalisation and discrimination from the out-group can lower the minority group's self-esteem, therefore they begin to evaluate their in-group more negatively. Overtime, these groups experience greater difficulties in competing for valuable resources, and so, seek to remedy their disadvantage via out-group aggression (Haveley, Weisel, & Bornstein, 2012). Alternatively, the majority group may seek revenge for the injustice that they potentially experience from the influx of immigrants, in particular when there are limited resources, which leads to realistic threats. Individuals may be motivated to victimise minority out-groups as they feel that they are responsible for the plight of the in-group (e.g. lack of employment, housing, medical care, etc.), so they have a greater desire for revenge, to reduce their frustration at the economic instability (Agnew, 2006; Walters, 2011).

The relationship between Factors

As discussed, factors of self-esteem, authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, ethnocultural empathy, religiousness (both salience in religious commitment and religious fundamentalism), and revenge motivation, can be a predictors of attitudes towards immigrants. Individuals who are high on authoritarianism are found to be more ethnocentric (Altemeyer, 2006; Eckhardt, 1991; Radkiewicz, 2016), at the same time as suggesting lower ethnocultural empathy

(Haghish, Heydari, Biegler, Pfuhl, & Teymoori, 2012). Also, authoritarianism is positively related to religious commitment and fundamentalism (Altemeyer, 2006; Leak & Finken, 2011). Moreover, research has suggested that religious fundamentalism is positive related to ethnocentrism, whilst being negatively correlated with ethnic (ethnocultural) empathy (Wrench, Corrigan, McCroskey, & Punyanunt-Carter, 2006). Also, those individuals that identify strongly with their in-groups are more ethnocentrism, which leads to greater sense of self-esteem (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003). Therefore, higher levels of ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, and vengeance motivation, are suggested to be correlated with out-group prejudice, with reduced self-esteem, and ethnocultural empathy, resulting in the same. The intercorrelations between these factors, and its association with out-group hate, suggests its relevance in predicting the underlying motivations in hate crimes.

In investigating the impact of these factors on out-group prejudice (i.e. attitude to immigrants), it is hypothesised that high ethnocentrism (measured by GENE), religious fundamentalism (measured by ARFS), authoritarianism (measured by AFS), vengeance (measured by VS), and religious commitment (measured by SRC), will result in negative attitudes towards immigrants. It is further hypothesised that there will be an inverse relationship between self-esteem (measured by CFSEI) and ethnocultural empathy (measured by SEE) on attitudes to immigrants and refugees. That is, those with lower self-esteem and ethnocultural empathy will suggest more negative attitudes towards these groups.

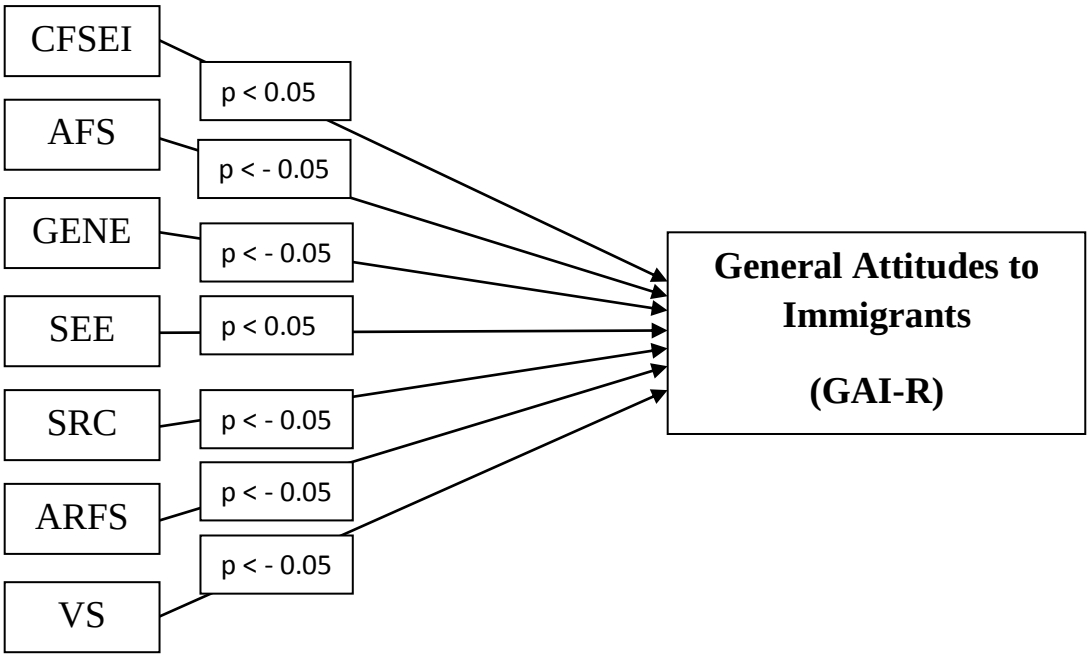

Figure 19. Hypothesised model for the effect of the predictor variable on the outcome variable.

5.2 Methods

Participants

This study recruited participants via opportunity sampling, by distributing the study URL using social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter etc.), email, and word of mouth (the URL was emailed on agreement to participate). The survey was initiated in February 2016, and finally completed in April 2018, thus the data was collected for a total of twenty-seven months. Participants were all over 18 years of age, with age range of 61 years, with the youngest participant being 18, and the oldest being 79 years old. The sample consisted of 79 men (mean age = 35.44: SD = 15.37) and 250 women (mean age = 34.90: SD = 13.91), with two women not reporting their age.

The majority of the participants who indicated a religious identity stated they were Christian (94 participants; 27.1%), with those with no religious beliefs, or other religious beliefs (religious beliefs outside of the six widely established religions) accounted for 60.3% of the

population (209 participants). There were 27 participants who identified themselves as associated with Hinduism (7.8 %), 11 with Islam (3.2%), 4 with Sikhism (1.2%), and 2 with Buddhism and Judaism (0.3% each) respectively. The ethnic identities of the participants was diverse, however the majority were of a white descendent (285 out of the 347; White British = 257, White Irish = 5, White Other = 23) forming 74.1% of the participant cohort. 42 participants were of Asian heritage (British Asian Chinese = 1, British Asian Indian = 39, British Asian Pakistani = 2) relating to 12.1% of the sample. 1 participant identified themselves as Black British African (0.3%), and 2 as Black British Caribbean (0.9%). 9 participants were of mixed ethnicity (2.6%), with 7 participants identifying themselves under the 'Other' category (2%).

Materials

Questionnaires

Participants completed eight questionnaires and a demographic questionnaire online.

The Culture-Free Self-esteem Inventory – 2 **(CFSEI-2, Battle, 1981)** is comprised of 40 questions measuring four types of self-esteem: general self-esteem (16 items); social self-esteem (8 items); personal self-esteem (8 items) and defensiveness (8 items). Individuals check the 'yes' or 'no' column if the question describes how they usually feel. 'General' self-esteem is the individual's perception of their overall worth. 'Social' self-esteem is the individual's assessment of relationship with peers, while 'personal' self-esteem is the individuals most intimidate perceptions of self-worth. The scale is unaffected by cultural differences of individuals in the sample. Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.688, which is moderate reliability (see. Appendix 13).

Examples of questions:

1) Are you happy most of the time?

2) Are you easily depressed?

Authoritarian F-Scale **(Adorno, Fenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950)** comprises of 30 questions relating to the authoritarian dimension of personality. Individuals are asked to respond with their first reaction to the questions using a 6-point Likert-Type scale, from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 6 (*Strongly Agree*). Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.870, which is high reliability (see. Appendix 14).

Examples of questions:

1) Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

2) Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

Generalised Ethnocentrism **(Neuliep, 2002)** is comprised of 22 questions on individual's feelings about their own culture and other cultures. The respondents are encouraged to record their first response on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.778, which is moderate reliability (see. Appendix 15).

Examples of questions:

1) Most other cultures are backward compared to my culture.

2) Lifestyles in other cultures are just as valid as those in my culture.* (reverse coded)

Ethnocultural Empathy Scale **(Wang et al., 2003)** is comprised of 31 questions measuring empathy towards people of racial and ethnic backgrounds, different from one's own. The questionnaire measures fours dimensions of empathy: 1) Empathic feeling and expression, 2) Empathic perspective taking, 3) Acceptance of cultural differences, and 4) Empathic

awareness. The scale uses a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree that the statement pertains to me*) to 6 (*Strongly agree that the statement pertains to me*). Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.672, which is moderate reliability (see. Appendix 16).

Examples of questions:

1) I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English.

2) I don't know a lot of important information about social and political events of racial.

General Attitudes to Immigrants - Revised **(Starr & Roberts, 1982)** is comprised of 11-items measuring attitudes towards immigrants in general. The original scale was modified to measure attitudes toward immigrants living in England. For example, 'England has too many immigrants' and 'As people, British should feel obligated to help immigrants'. The scale uses a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.172, which is low reliability (see. Appendix 17).

Examples of questions:

1) People from foreign countries should be encouraged to come to live in England* (reverse coded)
2) Most immigrants and refugees that come to England are the undesirables

Salience in Religious Commitment Scale **(Roof & Perkins, 1975)** is comprised of 3 items, with multiple choices of response for each item. The questions are focussed on the importance of religious faith, how religious faith influences a person's decision, and whether life would be meaningless, without an individual's religious faith. Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.301, which is low reliability (see. Appendix 18).

Examples of questions:

1) My religious faith is:

- Important for my life, but no more important than certain other aspects of my life (2)

- Only of minor importance for my life, compared to certain other aspects of my life (1)

- Of central importance to my life, and would, if necessary come before all other aspects of my life (3)

2) Everyone must make very important life decisions, such as which occupation to pursue, what goals to strive for, whom to vote for, what to teach one's children, etc. When you have made, or do make decisions such as these, to what extent do you make the decisions on the basis of your religious faith?

- I seldom if ever base such decisions on religious faith (1)

- I sometimes base such decisions on my religious faith but definitely not most of the time (2)

- I feel that most of my important decisions are based on my religious faith, but usually in a general, unconscious way (3)

- I feel that most of my important decisions are based on my religious faith, and I usually consciously attempt to make them so (4)

Attitudes towards Religious Fundamentalism Scale – Revised **(Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004)** is comprised of 12 items. The questions measure a person's attitude to their religious beliefs, and the underling psychological elements in the thinking of people who are called religious fundamentalists. The scale uses a Likert-type scale from -4 (very strongly disagree with the statement) to +4 (very strongly agree with the statement). Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.125, which is low reliability (see. Appendix 19).

Examples of questions:

1) God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.

2) No single book of religious teachings contains all the intrinsic, fundamental truths about life.* (reverse coded)

Vengeance Scale **(Stuckless & Goranson, 1992)** is comprised of 20 questions measuring attitudes towards revenge, with one item referring to forgiveness. Individuals are asked about the extent to which they agree with the sentences, with 1 being *Disagree Strongly* to 7 which is *Agree Strongly*. Cronbach's alpha for the overall scale for this study was 0.77, which is moderate reliability (see. Appendices 20).

Examples of questions:

1) It's not worth my time or effort to pay back someone who has wronged me.* (reverse coded)

2) I don't just get mad, I get even

In total, the questionnaire comprised of seven questionnaires with a total of 129 questions and took between 30 and 45 minutes to complete.

Procedure

On clicking the study URL, participants were directed to the survey on QUALTRICS online platform. An information sheet was provided that explained the aim of the study, and gave details of the research if the participant had any questions. Informed consent was sought on the next page, and only when participants 'Agreed' to take part in the study, could they move on to the survey. Those who clicked 'Disagree' on the consent form were directed to the final page, *'thanking them for their time'*. The participants were asked to provide a *'Memorable*

Word' on the consent form, through which they can withdraw from the study at a later stage if they wish to do so, by contacting the ethical committee at the university, with the title of the study, and their memorable word. The participants, who 'Agreed', completed a socio-demographics sheet, followed by the study scales. At the end of the survey, participants were fully debriefed, and reminded that they can withdraw from the study within two weeks, by emailing the ethical committee with the *'Memorable Word'*, and they were thanked for their time.

Final Sample

A total of 593 surveys were collected using QUALTRICS software online (www.qualtrics.com). However, surveys with progress less than 95% were excluded from the analysis, as the participants did not respond to majority of the scales. After removing all incomplete data, and screening for any missing values, a total of 347 participant data were analysed.

Consent and Withdrawal

The study was approved by the School of Psychology Research Ethics Committee (SOPREC), at the University of Lincoln. The participant responses were collected online using QUALTRICS Software. All participants were required to provide consent by agreeing that they *"wish to take part"* in the study, by clicking the *"Agree"* button on the consent form. Participants gave information on their socio-economic and demographic status, and completed standardised surveys listed above. At the end of the survey, participants were reminded that their participation is voluntary, and they are free to withdraw from the study, either by closing the web-browser, or within two-weeks of the completion date, by emailing the ethic committee with the *'memorable word'*, and their data will be destroyed. The participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their time online, after they completed the last response.

5.3 Results

Inter-correlations were computed for all of the 347 participants' responses to the criterion and predictor variables in the study. Table 21 presents correlation coefficients amongst all variable (N=347). The posited hypothesis, that all of the variables will be related to each other, and more importantly with GAI-R, was examined by correlation analysis.

Table 16

Correlations of scales of psychological traits on attitudes to immigrants

	GAIS	CFSEI	AFS	GENE	SEE	SRC	AFRS	VS
GAIS	-	-.017	.437**	.277**	-.615**	.003	.041	.376**
CFSEI		-	-.135*	-.095	-.003	-.029	-.001	-.078**
AFS			-	.391**	-.291**	.221**	.128*	.263**
GENE				-	-.263**	.133*	.158**	.283**
SEE					-	.081	.042	-.397**
SRC						-	-.005	-.001
AFRS							-	-.034
VS								-

Note. GAIS=General Attitudes to Refugees; CFSEI= The Culture-Free Self-esteem Inventor; AFS= Authoritarian F-Scale; GENE= Generalised Ethnocentrism; SEE= Ethnocultural Empathy Scale; SRC= Salience in Religious Commitment Scale; AFRS= Attitudes towards Religious Fundamentalism Scale; VS= Vengeance Scale. * correlation significant at the $p<0.05$ level. ** correlation significant at the $p<0.01$ level.

2 of the 28 correlations were significant at the P<0.05 level, while 13 of the 28 correlations were significant at the p<0.01 level. There is significant positive correlation of AFS, GENE, SEE, and VS, with SEE. There is a negative significant correlation of AFS and VS, with CFSEI. Whilst, GENE, SRC, ARFS, and VS, show significant positive correlation with AFS, SEE shows a significant negative correlation with AFS. The results further suggest GENE to show significant positive correlation with SRC, ARFS, and VS, whilst there is significant negative correlation between GENE and SEE. Finally, SEE and VS show a negative significant correlation.

Table 17

Model Summary of a Linear Stepwise Regression

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	B	SE B	ß	B	SE B	ß	B	SE B	ß
SEE	-.284	.20	-.615	-.246	.19	-.533	-.228	.20	-.495
AFS				.122	.18	.282	.114	.18	.264
VS							.044	.18	.111
R2		.379			.451			.461	
F for change in R2		.379			.073			.010	
P				.000			.000		.000
t				26.20			14.83		12.12

A step-wise multiple linear regression (Table 17) was used to develop a model for predicting the general public's attitudes towards immigrants from their scores on AFS, GENE, SEE, and VS. On the first step, SEE was entered into the model. The model accounted for 37.9% of the variance, and SEE was highlighted as a significant predictor of attitudes towards immigrants $F_{(1, 344)} = 209.72$, $p < 0.001$. On the second step, AFS was added to SEE as the predictor variables for GAI-R. The model accounted for 45.1% of the variance, and both the factors significantly predicted GAI-R, $F_{(2, 343)} = 141.14$, $p < 0.001$). On the third step, VS was added as a third predictor variable in the model. The third model accounted for 46.1% of the

variance, with the three predictor variables significantly explaining the general attitudes towards immigrants, $F_{(3, 342)} = 97.69$, $p < 0.05$. When all the factors were entered into the stepwise multiple regression, GENE was not significant. This suggested that there is a potential mediation relationship between the predictors in the model, with a speculation that GENE was being mediated by the other three predictor variables; SEE, AFS and VS. Hence, a mediation analysis was conducted to check for any preliminary mediation that was predicting GAI-R.

Mediation Analysis

Table 18

Total, Direct and Indirect Effect of GENE on GAI-R.

	Effect	se	t	LLCI	ULCI
AFS as mediator					
Total	.26	.05	5.35**	.17	.36
Direct	.12	.05	2.40*	.02	.22
Indirect	.14	.03	7.87**	.10	.20
SEE as mediator					
Total	.26	.05	5.35**	.17	.36
Direct	.12	.04	2.83**	.04	.20
Indirect	.15	.04	-5.07**	.08	.22
VS as mediator					
Total	.26	.05	5.35**	.17	.36
Direct	.17	.05	3.62**	.08	.27
Indirect	.09	.02	5.48**	.04	.13

Mediation models as path diagrams

Diagram 1.

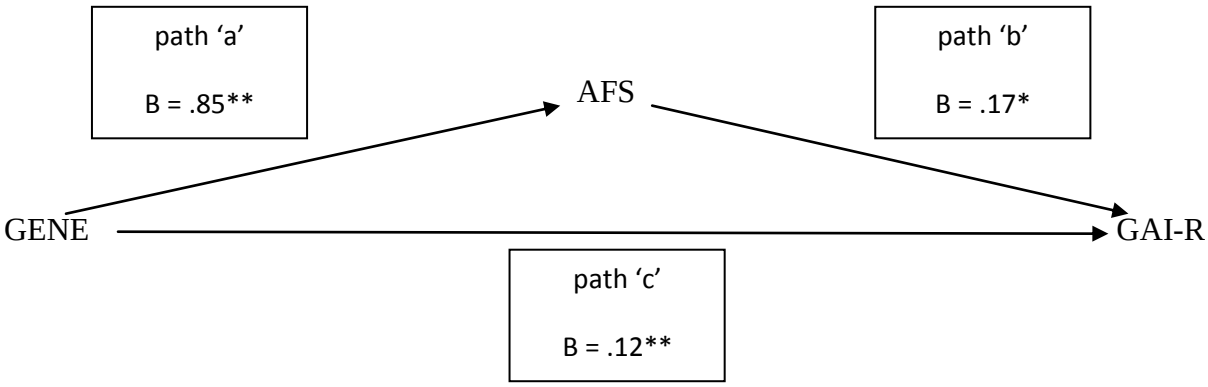

Figure. 20. Standardised regression coefficients for the relationship between generalised ethnocentrism (GENE) and general attitudes to immigrants (GAI-R), controlling for authoritarianism (AFS), is in parenthesis. **p* <0.05 ***p* <0.01.

In step 1 (path c) of the mediation model, GENE, ignoring the mediator (AFS), was significant, b = .26, $t_{(344)}$ = 5.35, p = 0.00, p < 0.05 (CI = .17, .36). Step 2 (path a) showed GENE on the mediator AFS, was also significant, b = .14, $t_{(344)}$ = 7.87, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .10, .20). Step 3 (path b) of the mediation process showed that the mediator (AFS), controlling for GENE, was significant, b = .12, $t_{(343)}$ = 2.40, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .02, .22). Step 4 (overall mediation) of the analysis revealed that controlling for the mediator (AFS), GENE was a significant predictor of GAI-R, b = .12, $t_{(343)}$ = 7.42, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .12, .21).

Diagram 2.

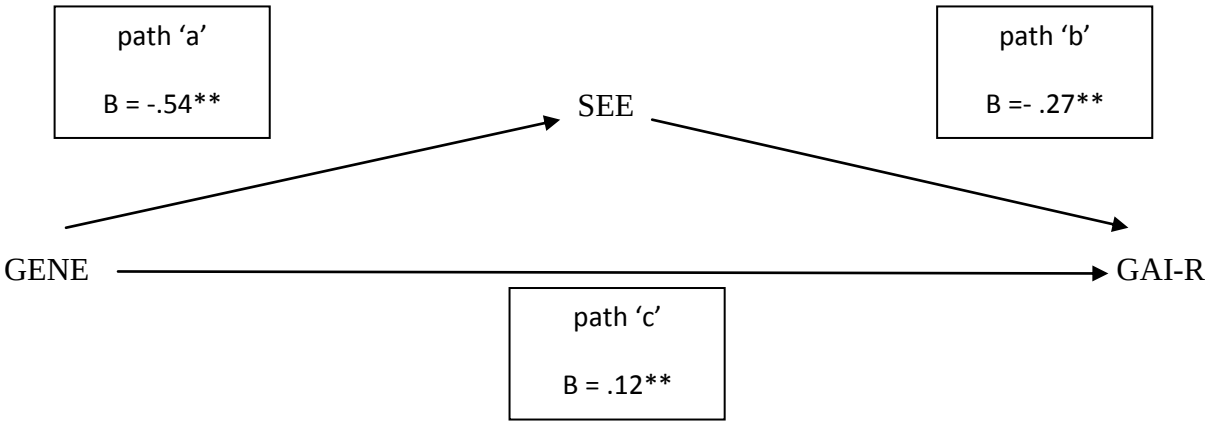

Figure. 21. Standardised regression coefficients for the relationship between generalised ethnocentrism (GENE) and general attitudes to immigrants (GAI-R), controlling for ethnocultural empathy (SEE), is in parenthesis. ***p* <0.01.

In step 1 (path c) of the mediation model, GENE ignoring the mediator (SEE), was significant, b = .26, $t_{(344)}$ = 5.35, p = 0.00, p < 0.05 (CI = .17, .36). Step 2 (path a) showed GENE on the mediator SEE, was also significant, b = .15, $t_{(344)}$ = -5.07, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .08, .22). Step 3 (path b) of the mediation process showed that the mediator (SEE), controlling for GENE, was significant, b = .12, $t_{(343)}$ = 2.83, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .04, .20). Step 4 (overall mediation) of the analysis revealed that controlling for the mediator (SEE), GENE was a significant predictor of GAI-R, b = .12, $t_{(343)}$ = 7.42, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .12, .21).

Diagram 3.

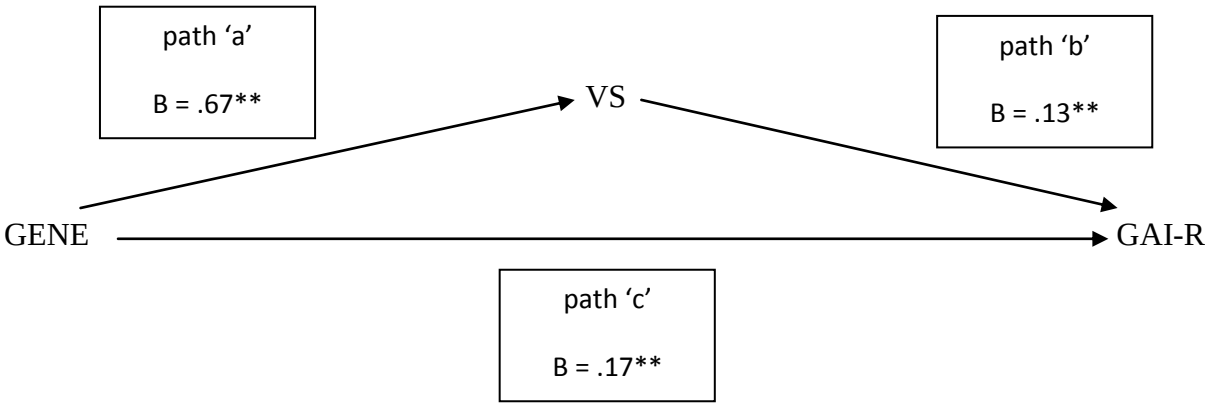

Figure. 22. Standardised regression coefficients for the relationship between generalised ethnocentrism (GENE) and general attitudes to immigrants (GAI-R), controlling for vengeance (VS), is in parenthesis. ***p* <0.01.

In step 1 (path c) of the mediation model, GENE ignoring the mediator (VS), was significant, b = .26, $t_{(344)}$ = 5.35, p = 0.00, p < 0.05 (CI = .17, .36). Step 2 (path a) showed GENE on the mediator VS, was also significant, b = .09, $t_{(344)}$ = 5.48, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .04, .13). Step 3 (path b) of the mediation process showed that the mediator (VS) controlling for GENE was significant, b = .17, $t_{(343)}$ = 3.62, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .08, .27). Step 4 (overall mediation) of the analysis, revealed that controlling for the mediator (VS), GENE was a significant predictor of GAI-R, b = .13, $t_{(343)}$ = 6.33, p = 0.00, p < 0.01 (CI = .09, .17).

5.4 Discussion

The findings of the current study partially supported the notion that all the predictor variables will affects attitudes towards immigrants. Preliminary regression analysis showed positive significant associations between the predictor variables of AFS (Authoritarian F-Scale), GENE (General Ethnocentrism), SEE (Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy), and VS (Vengeance Scale), on the outcome variable, GAI-R (General Attitudes to Immigrants Scale). However, ARFS (Attitudes towards Religious Fundamentalism Scale), CFSEI (Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory), and SRC (Salience in Religious Commitment), did not show significant association with GAI-R. The step-wise linear regression presented findings by suggesting mediation of GENE, by the other three predictor variables, in predicting the attitudes to immigrants. These findings were not expected, with the study hypothesising a direct effect of all the factors on attitudes towards immigrants.

Implications of the mediations

All the three mediations suggested an overall positive significant direct effect of GENE on GAI-R (path c), suggesting that ethnocentrism predicts negative attitudes towards immigrants (or any other perceived out-group). Therefore, those people who are high on ethnocentrism, will invariably hold negative attitudes towards immigrants (Altemeyer, 2004; Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012; Bizumic, Duckitt, Popadic, Dru, & Krauss, 2009; Cunningham, Nezlek, & Banaji, 2004; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). This finding is consistent with SIT position theorising that individuals who identify more strongly with the in-group, also display less favourable attitudes towards dissimilar groups (Negy, Shreve, Jensen & Uddin, 2003). Individuals with stronger affiliation to their social group strive to maintain a favourable view of the in-group, therefore they engage in social comparisons between dissimilar groups, and invariably delegate out-group to an inferior position, by focusing on dimensions of the out-group seen as undesirable (Perreault & Bourhis, 1999). Although this view may support that highly affiliated group members discriminate against out-groups to uphold their view of the in-group as being prestigious, it does not explain why those with low group affiliation engage in similar discrimination.

Conversely, from a SDT position, the derogation of out-group members is better explained by the willingness of individuals to discriminate against other groups, to be considered better and dominant over these groups (McFarland, 2010; Sidanius et al., 2004). Individuals who show greater SDO (i.e. need and support for group-based hierarchies), will express their prejudice towards out-groups to show their dominance, and maintain their elevated position in society, by subordinating out-group members. Therefore, from an SDT perspective, an individual's inclination to see their group as better than other groups, is a better predictor of out-group derogation, rather than their affiliation with the in-group. Both the theories imply that there is an existential need for the in-group and its members, to achieve positive distinctiveness or dominance over an out-group, which is understandable, for long as there are blurred boundaries between the respective groups. In other words, intergroup discrimination may be observed when there is a need for individuals to show their group as more favourable, however there is no explanation offered in these theories as to why individuals and groups would discriminate, when there is already clear dominance and positive self-concept over out-groups.

ITT suggests that intergroup behaviour highlighting hostility towards out-groups is ingrained in intergroup competition for resources. The theory suggests that when groups evaluate the existence and actions of out-groups members to impair an in-groups way of life (e.g. by taking over jobs, medical care etc.), members of the in-group are more likely to engage in discrimination and violence towards the 'other'. This view incorporates the positions held by SIT and SDT, as people high in SDO discriminate against disparate groups to show dominance of their in-group and maintain control of resources. In doing so, the groups will inevitably be seen as better and more esteemed than out-groups, increasing the distinctiveness of the group and self-esteem of its members. In this way, ITT appears to better explain ethnocentrism as a marker for negative attitudes towards out-groups (i.e. immigrants), through the concept of intergroup anxiety due to resource competition, and subsequent out-group derogation, whilst still valuing the concepts put forth by SIT and SDT.

It thus can be suggested that other groups who can be recognised as the out-group, in particular from evidence of this research which show race and religious can be seen as a sign of being an out-group, are susceptible to this negative attitude. However, mediation one (see.

Figure. 20) suggested a significant indirect effect of GENE on GAI-R, mediated by AFS. Path a highlights that people who are more ethnocentric will also exhibit authoritarian attitudes. These findings support previous research reporting that individuals who are ethnocentric, are also more authoritarian, in that they are more critical and punitive of minorities to maintain individual and group security, stability, and order (Altemeyer, 1998; Eckhardt, 1991; Saeri, Iyer & Louis, 2015).

Path b suggested that those high on authoritarianism are more likely to hold negative attitudes towards immigrants. These findings are unsurprising as authoritarians are fascinated by conformity and adherence to in-group norms and values (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt, Wagner, Du Plessis, & Birum, 2002), therefore immigrants, refugees and other out-groups who either refuse to assimilate, or are seen to be disobedient can upset authoritarians leading to out-group derogation and violence. Similarly, mediation two (see. Figure 21) highlighted the association between GENE and GAI-R, with GENE being mediated by SEE. Ethnocentrism has been linked to reduced ethnic empathy and negative attitudes and aggressive behaviour (Davis, 1994), especially towards ethnic groups (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Consistent with the latter point, path a suggested a negative significant association of GENE and SEE, supporting the notion that ethnocentric individuals have reduced empathy towards out-groups. Moreover, path b then suggested that people high on empathy would also have more favourable attitudes towards immigrants. The negative significant relationship between SEE and GAI-R reflected that people who are empathic, are less likely to hold negative view of out-groups. Lastly, in mediation three (see. Figure. 22), the effects of GENE on GAI-R, was mediated by VS. Path a and path b suggested a positive significant association of GENE on VS, and VS on GAI-R. A higher level of ethnocentrism predicts a greater feeling of vengeance, and greater feelings of vengeance is a predictor of negative attitudes towards immigrants.

These findings can be explained by the threats outlined in ITT that are presented to the in-group by cohabiting out-groups. It is common for two or more interacting groups to consciously and subconsciously compare power and status difference in society, where the minority will invariably have lower social and economic status to the dominant in-group (Croucher, 2017). The power and status difference between the two groups leads to the threat

of intergroup anxiety (see. Stephan & Stephan, 1993; 1996), with the in-group feeling exploitation by the out-group, especially during circumstances where both are competing for limited resources such as jobs, power, access to healthcare (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). This anxiety is more pronounced when the in-group has a high status, as they perceive the actions of the minority to be insincere and harmful, and an attempt to reverse the power relations that exist within society. However in the revised ITT, intergroup anxiety has been removed as a separate threat, and is argued to be an antecedent to realistic and symbolic threats (see. Riek et al., 2006; Stephan et al., 2009).

Regardless of intergroup anxiety being a direct threat or a precursor for realistic threat (feelings of threat from the very existence of an out-group), it plays a significant role in the in-group and out-group interaction. The anxiety felt by the in-group is more deep-rooted when there is lack of knowledge of the out-group and its members, as the understanding about these groups are based on assumed information or stereotype, often not based in facts. Consequently, the in-groups interpret substantial differences in cultural values (i.e. more ethnocentric), between themselves and the 'foreign' group, and so, they are more likely to experience enhanced symbolic threats to their own culture and collective identity (Esses et al., 2001, Riek et al., 2006; Stephan and Stephan, 2000, Zárate et al., 2004).

Negative attitudes to immigrants as found in this study, may be the result of the symbolic and realistic threat experienced by the in-group, as these out-groups (i.e. immigrants) are perhaps likened to undesirable groups in society, who are seen to be impinging on resources, and affecting the values and norms of the British culture. This stereotype of out-groups may be based on rhetoric existing in society, whereby media and politicians scapegoat immigrants for economic problems, such as unemployment rates, or security concerns such as increasing crime rates (see. Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Schemer & Muller, 2017). This opinion about immigrants can be detrimental, as it leads to increased suspicion towards out-groups members and their motives (Croucher, 2013). Thus, in-groups (and its members) supporting these stereotypes are more likely to perceive out-groups as incongruent with the values and belief systems, and so engage in behaviours to reduce the likelihood of out-group members assimilation, from the fear of symbolic threats and a change in status quo.

Ethnocentrism that governs attitudes towards out-groups can also be explained by SDT, since SDT is concerned with group-based inequality and dominance, even when individual differences are evident in support of group-based hierarchies (i.e. SDO). However, SDO is a motivation driven by competition to gain and sustain in-group power and dominance over other groups (Duckitt, 2006). Therefore, SDT should be considered as a group phenomenon, and so any threats to social dominance of the in-group can be perceived as an attack on the power dynamics within society, and an effort to destabilise the superiority of the in-group. In turn, individuals high in SDO are more likely to use hierarchy-enhancing ideologies (e.g. prejudice) strategically, to establish, maintain, or enhance the superiority of the in-group (Thomsen, Green & Sidanius, 2008).

Out-groups are considered to be low-status groups, thus when individuals with high SDO come into contact with members of this group, there is greater support for aggression and violence towards this group, leading to the subordination and derogation of minority groups. Individuals high on SDO will reinforce the host group's powerful position in the hierarchy, by subordinating out-groups with violence and aggressive behaviour (Thomsen et al., 2008). Similarly, immigrants may be considered low-status groups, and that coupled with the view that they are taking over resources that the dominant group is entitled to, may explain the low ethnocultural empathy, and high levels of ethnocentrism found in this.

Nonetheless, from a SIT position, such assimilation results in another type of threat; a threat to positive distinctiveness. Immigrants who try to acculturate to the host culture can induce aggressive reactions from the in-group (Esses et al., 2001), who strive for differentiation and positive distinctiveness from the host culture that is seen to be inferior (Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004; Riek et al., 2006). At the same time, those groups that do not assimilate or acculturate to the host culture may provoke enhanced symbolic threats, leading to anxiety and aggression from the dominant group (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Implications of current findings to hate crimes

Psychological theories (i.e. SIT, ITT, SDT) explaining intergroup discrimination suggest that fundamental aspect of intergroup behaviour and conflict is negative appraisal of out-groups and its members. According to the three theories, individuals form negative outlook and discriminate against out-groups, to either develop positive self and social identity, maintain (social) dominance in society, or simply due to competition for resources. All in all, the in-group and out-group disparity, that is the focal point of these theories, suggest an 'Us vs. Them' ideology noted in hate crimes. Consequently, it was paramount to test the assumption that evaluating an out-group based on one's own culture can predict hostility and negative sentiments towards an out-group (e.g. immigrants), together with providing evidence for the concept of 'Us vs. Them', drawn on in hate crime literature.

The findings in this study indicated that people who willingly evaluate out-groups (i.e. those high on ethnocentrism), who are considered to be an *'Other'* (e.g. immigrants), are subsequently more likely to see out-groups as subordinate, inferior, and undesirable. This negative comparison and understanding of out-groups may be facilitated by social-psychological factors such as authoritarian attitudes, the drive for vengeance, or apathy towards the out-group. The clear signs of difference (e.g. religious dress, skin colour etc.), or even the talk of people being different (for example newspaper articles account of certain groups of people), for people high on ethnocentrism, is seen to be a provocation. Therefore, the perceived difference of the victim may trigger hate crime perpetration, rather than 'hate' motivation itself, particularly as many hate crimes are committed in the absence of deep-rooted 'hate' (see. Garland, 2010).

The current findings have vital implications to better the understanding of hate crimes, especially those motivated by race and religious difference of the out-group. Hate crimes motivated by the outsider status of the victim are not recorded under a protected category (CSEW, 2019), therefore these crimes are invariably recorded as race or religious hate crimes, depending on the 'difference' of the victim that is more recognisable. Thus race and religious hate crime statistics are continually rising, however these statistics may not necessarily reflect the actual number of crimes attributable to these differences (i.e. race and religious bigotry), as other characteristics (e.g. prejudice toward a difference other than the five protected characteristics) although pertinent in hate crime perpetration, are recorded as

race and religious hate crimes. Despite all, the current study has made inroads to understand the potential social-psychological factors explaining the 'Us vs. Them' ideology, which may determine hate crime perpetration.

Conclusion

In sum, this study investigated factors that have been related to attitudes towards immigrants. Previous research suggested ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, vengeance, and religious fundamentalism, to be positively associated with attitudes to immigrants, that is if people scored high on these factors, then they exhibit negative attitudes. Conversely, ethnocultural empathy, self-esteem, and religious salience, were negatively correlated with attitudes to immigrants, so if scores on these factors increased, then attitudes were less negative. To the knowledge of the researcher, this is the first study to investigate all these factors together in predicting attitudes to immigrants. GENE is a direct predictor of GAI-R, however it is mediated by AFS, SEE, and VS, indicating that these factors can partially explain an individual's attitudes towards immigrants. Further suggestions for research has been provided assuming a model that would emerge from further analysis using SEM. These findings suggest that there is a need to reduce ethnocentrism in, and amongst the general public, to reduce negative sentiments towards out-groups. The mediation by authoritarianism and vengeance, implies that individuals may express their prejudice which may lead to hate crimes, especially if they feel wronged, and so seek means to restore balance of status quo. The inverse relationship of ethnocultural empathy and ethnocentrism means that if ethnocentrism is reduced, then there is enhanced empathy between groups. Therefore, the focus should be on developing empathy between groups to reduce the 'threat' experienced by out-groups, which can also lead to positive self-esteem, and perhaps reduce the frequency of hate crimes.

Also, it is argued that the current model explaining social-psychological factors to GAI-R can be further developed, to devise a confirmatory model of GENE predicting GAI-R, using structural equation modelling (SEM) and path analysis. Developing such a model can help accentuate how in-group favouritism can manifest into out-group derogation. Figure 23.

below represents the supposed model that would be expected based on the findings of this study.

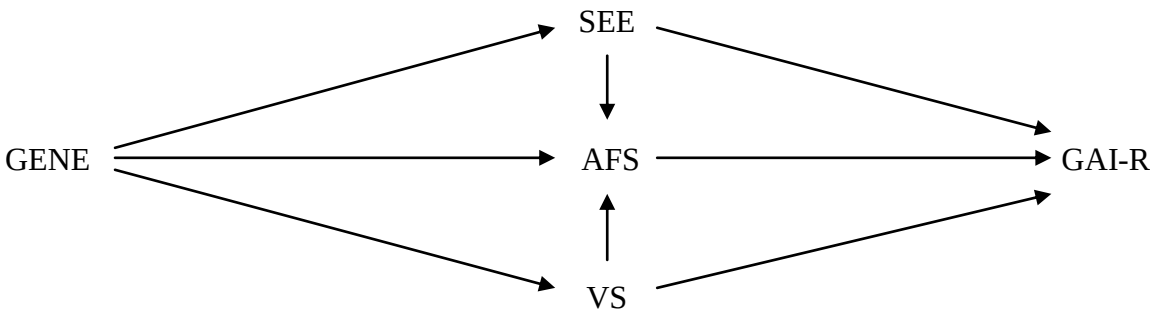

Figure. 23. SEM of individual traits on attitudes to immigrants.

PART THREE

SECTION E: GENERAL DISCUSSION

Chapter 6 - General Discussion

6.1 Overview

The focus of this thesis was to understand the conceptualisation of hate crimes, in particular those motivated by race and religious bias. In 2014, race and religious hate crimes accounted for 89% of hate crimes (Home Office, 2014), and more recently the statistics relating to race and religious hate crime have remained consistent, with these two protected strands account for 85% of hate crimes committed in the UK (Home Office, 2018). However these data on race and religious hate crimes only present a tip of the iceberg of the problem that hate crimes present, as the statistics reflect only those incidents that were recognised by the victim as a hate crime in the first instance, reported to the police by the victim, and then recorded as a hate crime by the police. Police data does not include less serious offences (e.g. verbal abuse), meaning that many subtle expressions of hate crimes (e.g. spitting on the victim, pushing the victim) will not be included in the final statistics. These experiences of the victims are considerably important as hate crime literature advocates that victims who experience hate crime incidents (i.e. graffiti, verbal abuse), are more susceptible to hate crime events (Bowling, 1993; Iganski, 1999, 2001). The limitation of police data on hate crimes is further confounded by the inaccuracies in policing strategies on hate crimes, as well as different methods employed by police forces in reporting and recording of these crimes.

Alternatively, CSEW is a nationally representative sample survey not affected by policing practices, or hate crime recording strategies. The survey covers crimes not reported to the police, in addition to the victim's experiences of hate crime incidents. Therefore, this survey includes all hate crimes, regardless of the subtlety or severity of the crimes. CSEW focuses on the victim's perceptions of the offender's motivation behind the crime rather than asking about hate crimes directly, as the knowledge of the concept of hate crimes are believed to be limited amongst the general population (Home Office, 2015). This can lead to over-reporting

of hate crimes, as the victims cannot decipher the actual motivation of the offender, and so perceive it to be an attack due to their immutable identity. Also, the statistics only represent crimes towards identifiable victims (e.g. where there is clear evidence of an assault on the victim, or where the victim household has been vandalised or property has been stolen from it). Consequently, crimes towards residents, businesses, institutions, and visitors, as well as crimes constituting public order offence are not recorded by the survey as the victim cannot be identified and interviewed, even when bias motivation is evident. Despite its limitations, police data and CSEW highlight that hate crimes are a significant problem in the UK, even when they do not wholly highlight the actual numbers of race and religious hate crimes that have occurred in the UK.

A total of three studies were designed, with study one and two designed to directly investigate different facets of race and religious hate crimes, through analysing the representation of themes crime in the media, in addition to shedding light on the understanding of these crimes amongst the general public using a story-completion task. Study three investigated the impact of ethnocentrism and other social-psychological traits on attitudes towards out-group members, namely immigrants. As mentioned previously, statistics in the UK highlight that hate crimes motivated by race and religious bias are the most common, however the social-psychological factors underlying these crimes have seldom been studied. Social psychology has theorised that actions instigated by prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination (as exhibited in hate crimes) are suggestive of intergroup bias and competition. SIT, SDT and ITT posit that bias or hate towards individuals are a reflection of deep-rooted social and psychological processes, whereby individuals engage in hostility towards people seen as members of an out-group, either to increase their self or group identity, maintain hierarchy of their group in society, or simply as a meditational response to alleviate the anxiety experienced from the perceived realistic or symbolic threat presented by the ‘Other’.

Hate crime literature similarly draws on the concept of the ‘Other’ in explaining these crimes (see. Chakraborti, 2010; Pardy, 2011; Perry, 2001), noting that perpetrators are committed to subordinating their victim to a marginalised position in society. Like this, victims of hate crimes are denoted a membership to a despised out-group, whilst communicating that they

are unwelcome and do not belong. In this respect, bias motivation that results in out-group derogation is inferred as fundamental to the perpetration and victimisation of these crimes. Despite this, victimisation owing to the 'out-group' status of the individuals is not protected within hate crime legislation, nor is it even mentioned as a key feature when recording these crimes. Rather the out-group status of the victim is listed as a sub-category of a protected strand (i.e. race or religion), with the event being reported as a race or religious hate crime, based on the motivation seen as more salient in these crimes by the investigator. This inflates the numbers of race and religious hate crimes, without enhancing knowledge of the social-psychological factors of the sub-categories of these biases, such as negative attitudes towards out-groups. Thus, this notion was tested in this thesis with study three employing a wider approach to better understand mechanisms that underpin race and religious hate crimes overall, by focussing on attitudes towards an out-group i.e. immigrants, rather than race or religious hate crimes *per se*.

This thesis began with an observation of the features reported in the media, to delineate the similarities and differences between what is reported in the media, and what is described in hate crime literature and policy. If the general public understand hate crimes to entail those features reported in the media, then the reporting of such crimes should be consistent with what is outlined in policing manuals and policies. One of the reasons for this is that people may understand hate crimes to be different to what is sanctioned in hate crime policies, therefore some crimes may not meet the criteria, and so not be adjudged hate crimes, further inflating inaccurate data on hate crimes (Nolan et al., 2015; Rubenstein, 2004). Also, if hate crimes are reported to the police, but they are not noted down as such, then the victim-police relations can be strained, as the victim may feel their victimisation has not been taken seriously (McDevitt et al., 2001; Pemberton, Winkel, & Groenhuijsen, 2007), thus disrupting confidence in policing and potential reporting of future victimisation (Hall, 2012, 2017; Zaykowski, 2010). Subsequently, this thesis aimed to explore what the general public imagine when asked to construct stories about unspecified hate crime, race hate crime, and religious hate crime. As mentioned above, if the general public do not understand or perceive actions as victimisation then they are less likely to report, further masking the recognition of the commonness of hate crimes. Finally, this thesis endeavoured to examine factors which potentially contribute to negative attitudes towards out-groups, and may ultimately lead to the derogation of these groups. Ample work has been done on the victims of hate crimes,

however very little knowledge is available on the perpetrators of these crimes (Gerstenfeld, 2017; Perry, 2009). Though, this thesis did not use hate crime offenders due to problems of access to this group, it did however endeavour to examine the social-psychological factors that may explain victim and out-group derogation within the general public, by using the imagination of the public about perpetrators of such offenses. This research justifies the use of a general public sample as being representative of hate crime victims, perpetrators, and the officers investigating these crimes, by asserting that all these actors are members of the general public, and therefore are likely to have heard the arguments, opinions, justifications, and rationale of person who occupy these 'positions'.

6.2 Summary of the Studies

Study1:

Berk (1990) argued that claims regarding attributes of hate-motivated crimes were ill-informed, "in the absence of "well-documented empirical regularities" (p. 341). What was argued by this view was that concepts such as racism help define race or racially-motivated hate crimes, yet they do not explain its components without fully investigating the attributes incorporated in these crimes. Therefore, what was warranted was a full analysis of these attributes to overcome the limitations outlined by Berk (1990). Although, this debate is almost three decades old, it is still applicable, as no empirical research has tested this notion in a single study. The Leicester Hate Crime Projects (see. Chakraborti & Hardy, 2014) did answer some of these questions however the data was demographically limited to the city of Leicester, UK.

The findings of the study highlighted that the newspaper representations of the characteristics of race and religious hate crimes revealed variable consistency with what is reported in hate crime literature. The findings highlighted that majority (82.3%) of these crimes were committed by individuals aged between 18 and 39, with 49.4% of those crimes perpetrated by those aged 18-29 years of age. Similarly, hate crime literature has reported that these crimes are committed by young men (Craig, 2002; Perry, 2009), often in groups (McDevitt et al., 2002). These groups are not organised hate crime groups, rather they can be similar-minded people who commit these crimes for multiple reasons such as 'thrill', power, control, and

through despise towards out-group, or to affirm masculinity (Franklin, 1998; Levin & Mcdvitt, 1993; McPhail, 2002). SIT outlines that individuals may derogate out-group members to seek membership within a group, therefore they are likely to act according to the aspired group's ethos. For examples, a person seeking membership in a group will derogate out-members that the group loathes to show their compatibility and oneness with the group beliefs, values, and norms.

Some individuals may engage in discrimination of out-group members through peer pressure or the need to conform to the group. As such, these individuals may not have high affiliation with the in-group or its values, but still engage in these actions to validate their membership within the group. Thus, the actions of individuals may suggest efforts to gain acceptance and membership within a group, to feel valued and increase their social identity. However, some people make it a mission to derogate out-group members, and so will engage in discrimination and anti-social behaviour to subordinate out-groups to eliminate 'evil' (McDevitt et al., 2002). Thus, these people will mobilise in groups to actively seek people who are 'different' and victimise them to show that they are not welcome. Nonetheless, group perpetration in hate crimes was not evident in this study, with the findings revealing that most cases (63.3%) represented in the media constituted one-to-one altercation between the victim and the perpetrator, as opposed to group victimisation (27.3%). The findings then imply that hate crimes are 'lone wolf' attacks, committed by a single perpetrator against a single victim.

As noted above, the argument that hate crimes are male crimes was reflected in the findings of study 1 of this thesis, with 78.2% of the cases in newspapers suggesting males as the chief protagonists of these crimes. SDT argues that males hold disproportionate political power, thus they are more likely to promote anti-egalitarian beliefs compared to females (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 2004; Wilson & Liu, 2003), thus meaning that they are more propelled to out-group hostility. Males are also more prone to sensing threat within society, especially when the threat is perceived to have a direct impact on the social dominance and hierarchy of the in-group. Thus, individuals with a higher SDO will favour group-based dominance, and acts in ways to derogate and subordinate out-group members to maintain social hierarchy. When the perceptions of threat are reduced, in-group members will cease to

discriminate out-groups, however individuals with higher SDO will continue to derogate out-groups and its members (Jackson & Esses, 2000).

Furthermore, the notion of stranger-danger reported in hate crime literature was also seen in the representation of hate crimes in the media (i.e. newspapers). There is very limited literature exploring the notion of hate crimes between unacquainted people, however Mason (2005) in her study suggested that the victimisation by a stranger was apparent in 50-60% of race hate crimes cases. Conversely, Stanko et al. (2003) found that hate crimes where the victim and perpetrator had never met before was only seen in 10.2% of the incidents, with most cases highlighting a previous encounter between the victim and the perpetrator, thus rebutting the claims of stranger-danger. In contrast, the findings of study 1 were more analogous to the findings of Mason (2005), as 90% of the cases represented in the newspapers alluded to the 'stranger-danger', thus implying that hate crimes are sporadic events, hence insinuating a need for individuals of colour and certain faith to be vigilant.

The analysis of race hate crimes with reference to the location where they are most likely to be committed, is consistent with past literature advocating that hate crimes commonly occur at home or close proximity to the victims home (Berk, 1990; Hall, 2013; Pezella & Feltzer, 2011; Strom, 2001). This trend was not observed in religious hate crimes however, with majority of these crimes being committed near places of worship, contradicting past research (see. Chakraborti et al., 2014). One possible explanation may be that individuals of certain faith may be victimised when they visit places of worship to fulfil their religious duties (e.g. attend prayers), also they may be more recognisable as members of that faith due to their attending of that religious institute (i.e. Muslims going to the mosque), thus more prone to victimisation. As mentioned earlier, if certain people make it a mission to derogate out-groups and seek their potential victims, then they are more likely to wait at religious institutes to victimise their target, especially if they feel hate towards a certain religious group, thus making hate crimes at, and around these institutes, more possible. However, more research on perpetrators, and their motivations to committing hate crimes is required, to accentuate how perpetrators select and source their targets, subsequently outlining locations that are 'hotspots' for hate crime victimisation.

Additionally, of note in the study was the time of day that hate crimes are committed. It was found that majority of these crimes were committed between 6pm – 12am. One potential reason for this may be the Jewish prayers of *Arvit* (*"of the evening"*) or *Maariv* (*"nightfall"*), and Islam's fourth prayer of *Maghrib* (*"after sunset"*), make followers of these faiths more visible during these times through their respective religious dress. Therefore, during this time they are vulnerable to hate crime victimisation, and can be potential victims on the way to, or on the way back from, their respective places of worship (i.e. synagogue or mosque). This is an interesting finding, not least because hate crimes against Muslim and the Jewish community are reported to be the most frequent types of religious hate crimes in the UK (Awan, 2016; Iganski, 2007; Kielinger & Paterson, 2007; Schweppe & Walters, 2016). However, this speculation of the timings of race and religious hate crime perpetration needs to be empirically tested. Although research has been conducted on the hate crime experiences of the Muslim and Jewish communities, they have been investigated independently (see. Iganski & Lagou, 2015; Awan & Zempi, 2016). Thus, a large-scale study focussing solely on these two communities needs to address the experiences of hate crime victimisation, in particular, exploring the feelings of fear and vulnerability, when visiting place of worship or community centres in the evening and/or at night. This could bring in the open the need for better security and greater surveillance of these places, to reduce race and religious hate crimes, and inevitably the fear of victimisation amongst members of these communities respectively. Moreover, it could be that this time period could be used as indicator to support claims that an incident was hate motivated.

Study 2:

The rise in hate crimes over the years, particularly following the EU-referendum (Dodd & Marsh, 2017; Cuerden & Rogers, 2017), and the claims that BREXIT has impacted on the victimisation of migrant communities in Britain (Gavin, 2018; Rzepnikowska, 2019), has made hate crime a common aspect of everyday discourse. Despite the increased frequency by which this crime has been highlighted, there was no concrete evidence that the general public knew what hate crime is, or knowledge about their thoughts on what hate crime victimisation entailed, and no insight into their understanding of the perpetrator, or their perception of how the police are likely to respond. Therefore, study 2 of this thesis endeavoured to investigate

the cultural understanding and construction of hate crimes in the general public, and if there are any differences in the way people conceptualise race hate crime, religious hate crime, and 'unspecified' hate crime.

A meta-analysis of the themes led to meta-themes explaining the key understanding, concepts, arguments, and characteristics that participants imagine when constructing stories of race, religious, and 'unspecified' hate crimes, from the perspectives of a victim, police, and/or defendant/perpetrators. The seven themes were antagonistic aspersions, de-facto segregation inclination, de-legitimisation of home status, aliens, normalisation of hate environment, action accounting, and police competency; with antagonistic aspersions argued to be the foundation to intergroup relations predicting hate crimes.

The theme of antagonistic aspersions implies that the social space has been infiltrated by out-group(s) that are dangerous, insincere, and a threat to the in-groups identity. Thus this theme reflects the premise of ITT, whereby the presence of an out-group is presenting threats and causing anxiety to the in-group. Here then, the participants imagine that the in-group (defendant/perpetrators of these crimes) experience symbolic threats through emphasising the dissimilation in morals, values, standards beliefs, and attitudes with the out-group (see. Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Furthermore, symbolic threats are threats to the in-groups worldview, therefore the theme such as *'extreme ideological worldview'* of the defendant/perpetrator, can be seen as a response to the perceived intrusion by out-groups, with the host group endorsing extremist ideology to discriminate against despised groups (Nash, McGregor & Prentice, 2011). ITT confers that the greater the appraisal that the out-group is obstructing the values and beliefs systems of the in-group, the more negative the in-groups attitudes towards the out-group will be, and more likely they are to victimise out-group members (Stephan et al., 2009).

Similarly, the second theme of de-facto segregation inclination suggests that people of colour or those marked as an 'Other' should be vigilant when moving within a given space. The 'othering' seen in hate crimes can be explained by the in-group vs. out-group differentiation within SIT (see. Brown, 2000; Hornsey, 2008. The theory posits that the existence of out-

group members can affect the self-esteem and distinctiveness of the in-group, therefore when an unknown out-group is present in the same social space, it can invariably lead to perceptions of attack on an in-groups positive self-concept and self-esteem, hence leading to out-group prejudice and discrimination (Martiny & Rubin, 2016). With respect to study 2, those individuals who are not members of the in-group (i.e. White), are understood to be prone to hate crime victimisation if visible in social spaces understood to be the rightful property of the in-group. Thus the realistic threat of displacement to the in-group, is eliminated by the defendant/perpetrators discriminating out-group members, and establishing dominance over resources e.g. land space. Consequently, the defendant/perpetrators are understood to *'determine ownership'* of what they perceive to be their legal rights due to their racial identity, at the same time confining victims to a certain space. The expression of prejudice towards out-group members suggests a negative affect to reduce anxiety and eliminate threat, whilst re-establishing the subordinate position of the out-group in society. Conversely, this hostility towards out-groups, especially from the perceptions of displacement may indicate an in-groups need to maintain social hierarchy and control over resources, which can be made possible by rendering out-groups as less worthy and inferior, thus restoring the status quo, where the in-groups enjoy a socially elevated position (Sidanius, Cotterill, Sheehy-Skeffington, Kteily & Carvacho, 2017; Sugiura et al., 2017).

Humans have a basic need and motivation to feel socially connected and accepted, seen through their need to *'belong'* (see. Baumeister & Leary, 1995; MacDonald & Leary, 2005; Stillman & Baumeister, 2009). However, victimisation based on an immutable difference can lead one to feel unwanted and unwelcome, and inevitably, an outsider. The actions of host groups can make out-group members change their behaviour or avoid certain areas from the fear of victimisation (Benier, 2017), whilst making them question their existence and rights to be in a certain place, whilst seeking validation for them being there. The perception of the victims being at *'home'* is challenged by the defendant/perpetrators, thus forcing the victims to reflect on why they deserve to occupy the same space (i.e. country) as the in-group members. This *'belonging interrogation'* warrants that the victim group justify their oneness with the in-group, by drawing on values that marks them as *'British'* given they have their own *'indigenous customs'* which are considered to be incongruent with the British culture, norms, and beliefs. The defendant/perpetrators are seen to protect and *'safeguard'* the

symbolic interests of the in-group, whilst de-legitimising the *'home status'* of the victim and their group members.

By denoting individuals as foreign despite them being *'British'*, can define them as being unfamiliar, and an 'Other' – *'Alien'*. From an SIT perspective, in-groups may favour assimilation (i.e. minority groups assume values, beliefs, and behaviours of the dominant group), rather than integration (i.e. process by which out-groups are incorporated in social structures) of out-groups, as integration implies that out-groups can bring in their traditional values and beliefs, thus blurring the boundaries and affecting the positive out-look to the in-group (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). If there are more salient social identities, through which out-groups can be 'othered', then they can be seen as improper and unfitting to the in-group, thus being seen as *'Alien'*. The *'victim othering'* highlighted through singling out of cultural, racial, and religious differences, then leads to the victims being seen as a *'strange citizen'*. Consequently, the victims are understood to be given a *'guest'* status, and compelled to behave according to the host cultures rules. Conversely, research into assimilation from a SDT position argues that individuals high in SDO favour integration compared to assimilation, as out-groups who *"stay in their place"* confirm the existing social hierarchy, whilst those who try to assimilate, jeopardise the social dominance of the in-group (Guimond, Oliveira, Kamiesjki & Sidanius, 2010; Thomsen et al, 2008). However, when out-groups are perceived to affect the social hierarchy, prejudice and discrimination towards out-groups may ensue.

Victims of hate crimes are understood to experience repeated victimisation by the defendant/perpetrators, until they become accustomed to such negative treatment by the in-group. The participants narrated their expectation of victim experiences, by storying that in race hate crime and unspecified hate crimes, the victims would note that hate crimes are evident in their everyday life, outlining the ordinariness of hate crimes that is well documented in hate crime literature (Chakraborti, 2014; Iganski, 2008). The theme of normalisation of hate crimes outlined that subtle acts of prejudice motivated by racial/religious bias, can make out-groups feel uncomfortable, with the defendant/perpetrators communicating despise of these groups. The stories imply that the victims are understood to have a passive response to their victimisation, often dismissing the seriousness of their

crimes, or thinking about their experience as a normal feature of their environment, thus they are seen to be 'doing *"being ordinary"*' (see. Sacks, 1984b in Wooffitt, 2005). The participants also voiced support for the location of hate crimes, by writing about these crimes taking place at the victim's home, or in close proximity to the victim's home (Hall, 2013; Strom, 2001).

The *'action accounting'* theme reverberates the assertions made by ITT, with the defendant/perpetrator (in-group) engaging (and justifying) their negative and discriminatory behaviour as a means to protect the in-group, themselves and their values from an infiltrating out-group. Here then, the police are storied to hear justifications from the defendant/perpetrators in denying culpability of their actions, by arguing a defensive strategy to the threat imposed by the out-group members. It was seen that the participants understand that the defendant/perpetrators would blame the victims by constructing them as wrongdoers.

Meanwhile, in race and religious hate crimes, unsurprisingly the participants imagined the police to be concerned with detecting and deciphering the racial and religious motivation, so as to underpin these crimes as such incident. The fact the police are storied to actively investigate these events, by collecting evidence to indicate race or religious motives, indicates that they are understood to take these crime seriously. Hate crimes victims resist reporting as they feel they will not be taken seriously (see. Chakraborti, Garland, & Hardy, 2014), nonetheless, if the general public hold that hate crimes are being taken seriously, then this social expectation can compel the police to act in accordance with public opinion, and consequently, create a culture that is more conducive to the reporting of such incidents. Therefore, in the theme of *'police competency'*, the police are understood to work in the interest of the victim and try to investigate crimes. It is worth remembering that these are imaginations of the general public, therefore these stories may reflect an ideal of what one should expect to be the standard norm of investigation for any crime. Yet, hate crime literature has contended that victims are often left dissatisfied by the lack of support they feel they have been given (Ardley, 2015; Bowling, 1999), leading to them feeling dejected and hurt more than the victimisation itself (Landt, Gladfelter, & Ruback, 2019; Mason et al., 2016). With the sentiments expressed by the general public with regards to investigating hate

crimes, hate crime policing and policy should be focussing on demonstrating the standards by which report hate-motivated are addressed.

One of the recommendations is that a special team should be dedicated to hate crime recording and investigation, with designated officers providing support to the victims, as these experiences leave the victims emotionally vulnerable and blunted (see. Abu-Ras & Squarez, 2009; Paterson, Brown, & Walters, 2018). As Hardy & Chakraborti (2016) suggested, the frontline members of staff should be fully trained on evidence-based diversity and hate crime training, with involvement from hate crime victims, before publishing and distributing the training received by staff to the general public to improve confidence amongst victims of hate crimes. To add further, such transparency and open communication would increase the assimilation between the conceptualisation of hate crimes amongst the general public, and members of staff, to whom they would report to in case of victimisation. Also, involvement of hate crime victims can inform any changes or developments in hate crime victimisation, which may suggest the need to update training and policy, to facilitate the dynamic nature of hate crime victimisation.

Study 3:

The final study of this thesis was an effort to explain the underlying mechanism of out-group prejudice, and marginalisation of certain racial and religious groups i.e. immigrants. To do this, the study drew on wider social-psychological concepts and theories that have been empirically tested, and associated with prejudice and out-group derogation (Asbrock et al., 2010; Baumeister et al., 2006; Bizumic et al., 2009; Hood et al., 2009). In essence, this study was fulfilling the prophecy of Sullaway (2004) who noted, "psychology can make a contribution to the development and refinement of techniques to collect evidence that best captures the various motivations involved in hate crimes" (p. 272). Although, the study was not focussed on developing or refining techniques to collect evidence, it was interested in providing potential psychological factors that help to explain what motivates hate crime perpetrators.

Hate crime literature has summoned hate crimes to evidence underlying prejudice, however it has done so in the absence of explanations as to what may cause this prejudice. Psychological theories of intergroup conflict generally concur that intergroup tensions between groups of people arise from negative evaluations of an out-group (Gaunt, 2011; Johnson et al., 2012). This view is consistent with hate crime literature and policy, whereby hate crimes are a message to groups (and its members) that they are undesired, unwelcome, and unworthy of equal status (see. Perry, 2001). Therefore, testing the notion of the psychological ideologies that underlie negative attitudes towards undesirable out-groups becomes pivotal, to understand motivations of hate crime perpetrators, and thereafter, develop effective strategies to reduce these attitudes.

It is understood that investigating social-psychological factors that underpin out-group hate and derogation does not explain all hate crimes, however it contributes in understanding people's attitudes towards out-groups who are 'othered'. Study 3 investigated attitudes towards immigrants as an exemplar of feelings towards an out-group, as the term immigrant can be used to refer to anyone who is not indigenous. Victims of race and religious hate crimes are subjected to prejudice and hostility due to their perceived outsider status, evaluated through their immutable difference by in-group members, and so, attitudes towards immigrants may explain the psychological underpinnings of race and religious hate crimes. Also, hate crimes towards immigrants are recorded under the protected categories of race or religion (see. College of Policing, 2014), thus this study further assists in understanding the rise of these two strands of hate crimes, even when the victimisation of individuals may be due to their out-group status, rather than their overt racial or religious difference.

Study 3 investigated factors such as ethnocentrism, religiosity, ethnocultural empathy, authoritarianism, feelings of vengeance, and individual self-esteem, and its impact on immigrants (group clearly yet to be seen as part of the in-group). The results highlighted that generalised ethnocentrism significantly predicts negative attitudes towards immigrants, with this effect being mediated by authoritarianism, ethnocultural empathy, and (feelings of) vengeance. These findings were consistent with previous literature reporting that people who favour in-group in terms of being superior, virtuous, and more deserving (i.e. more ethnocentric), will derogate out-group members, by evaluating them as inferior and

contemptible (Voci, 2006; Johnson et al., 2012). Thus, the findings support the view that the primary basis of intergroup conflict and negative attitudes lies in the unfavourable appraisal of an out-group with respect to one's in-group. These findings can be explained by SIT theories, offering that individuals who have strong in-group identification will automatically develop negative feelings and evaluation of out-groups, resulting in out-group derogation and victimisation (Brown, 2000; Weisel & Bohm, 2015). Social identity is derived from the a person's social group membership and the significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1978 as cited in Grant, 1993), thus a threat to the values, beliefs, and norms of the group practices can cause an identity threat, meaning that members of the group engage in ethnocentrism to enhance group values, and restore positive distinctiveness of the group.

Nonetheless, SDT believes that these expressions of out-group hostility motivated by ethnocentrism are not merely negative evaluations of out-group, but they are rather the multifaceted reactions based on social-psychological, political, and personality characteristics (Sidanius et al., 2004). What is meant by this, is that political discourse and environmental factors play a substantial role in predicting out-group derogation. If the out-group is highly distinct to the in-group, whereby they cannot sufficiently compete for power, resources, wealth, and other advantages, then the feelings of threat are minimal, meaning that socially evaluated groups are less likely to engage in downward victimisation (Guimond et al., 2017). Yet, people who are highly identified with the in-group and support group-based social hierarchy will perceive all threats as substantial as they have a enhanced fear response, perhaps because they have more to lose, hence they will hold ethnocentric attitudes and derogate out-group members (Pratto et al., 1994).

Despite all, threat perception, and need to reduce that threat, appears to be the motivation for out-group derogation, regardless of whether this is to achieve positive distinctiveness for the group, and enhance one's self-concept and social identity, or a method to sustain control over resources to maintain elevated social position. It is suggested that the evaluation of a co-inhabiting out-group is mostly negative, as they present a threat to the values, beliefs, and customs of the in-group (Stephan et al., 2009). Therefore the notion of symbolic threat in ITT is perhaps practical in explaining the ethnocentric attitudes of the in-group, in that they see the incomers as holding values and belief systems that are different to their own, or ones that

the in-group has not been exposed to previously (Fritsche, Jonas & Kessler, 2011). The intergroup anxiety experienced by this perceived 'intrusion' is augmented by the lack of knowledge of the outsider, eliciting negative affect and subsequent victimisation.

Furthermore, the fear of loss to resources outlined in SDT can be understood as a realistic threat, with the in-group members trying to protect valuable resources which are thought to be overtaken by out-groups. Thus ITT can be understood as a providing a comprehensive understanding of intergroup relations, behaviours, and conflict, by incorporating and explaining the concepts of SIT and SDT through the concept of intergroup anxiety, perceived threat, negative affect, and consequential out-group discrimination to reduce the feelings of threat, and develop positive self-esteem for the in-group, and its members.

Further findings of the study suggested that the tendency to assess out-groups as negative may further be enhanced by those who have an authoritarian personality, lack ethnocultural empathy, and suffer from low self-esteem. Research has shown that SDO and authoritarianism (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007; Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002) consistently predict out-group prejudice. Similar findings were reported in this study, which was expected given that individuals who are authoritarian have a strict adherence to conventional norms and feelings of aggression towards individuals and groups seen as *'norm violators'* (Adorno et al., 1950; Altemeyer, 1981), whilst people high on SDO similarly endorse norms of the in-group favouring policies that maintain social inequality (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002). Here then, the presence of an out-group affects the validation and ethos of the in-group, leading to members of the in-group feeling low in self-esteem. SIT posits that highly affiliated group members will act in ways to enhance their self-esteem and group distinctiveness, through out-group prejudice to redefine the values, boundaries, and norms of the group, marking the in-group as more favourable (Marques, Abrams & Serodio, 2001; Vanhoomissen & Van Overwalle, 2010). The new outlook towards the in-group as desirable can lead to ethnocentrism and negative affect and loathing of out-groups. The negative appraisal and perceptions of realistic and symbolic threats by the in-group, will eventually lead to reduced empathy towards out-groups, as members of the in-group are more concerned maintaining social dominance and in-group distinctiveness. Hereafter, all the encounters with out-group members will have

negative consequences for the out-group, from subtle expressions of prejudice and discrimination, through to violent hostility.

Religious fundamentalism or religious commitment did not mediate out-group prejudice, which is startling, given that actors of ethno-religious violence justify their actions as religious duty (Beller & Kroger, 2018; Wright, 2016; Wright & Young, 2017). One potential explanation for this may be that when social identity is not salient, individuals seek other group memberships that validate and enhance their social identity. As such, in study 3, the term immigrants may have rendered the out-group as foreign, therefore national identity (i.e. of being British) may be more salient in the minds of the participants at the time of completing the survey, which may have superseded all other personal or social identities (e.g. religion). Despite all, this study presented that social-psychological factors are the foundation to out-group derogation, whilst the psychological theories of intergroup relations provided explanation for why this discrimination occurs.

Essentially, what this study highlighted is the need to reduce ethnocentric attitudes that can lead to the politics of difference, and implement methods and strategies to make people more aware of cultural diversity, in the hope to promote ethnocultural empathy. This is a key finding of this thesis that warrants further investigation to initiate research into psychological traits that explain hate crime perpetrator behaviour.

6.3 Support for two 'at risk' religious groups

1) Muslims as predominant victims of hate crimes: Consistent with research (Awan & Zempi, 2016, 2017; Borrell, 2015; Dodd & Marsh, 2017) on hate crimes, in study 1 and 2, Muslims were identified and imagined to be the chief victims of hate-motivated crimes. When extracting the major attributions for race and religious hate crimes reported in the media, it was evident that many acts of violence were committed against members of the Muslim community. This was particularly true to Muslim women, with both the newspaper reporting and stories of hate crimes identifying Muslim women to be victimised due to their overt religious difference, evident through the religious dress they wear, thus supporting the

notion of ‘Gendered Islamophobia’ (Chakraborti & Zempi, 2012; Jamal, 2017; Najib & Hopkins, 2019; Perry, 2014). Additionally, this research adds that hate crimes are not always ‘actuarial’ (where victim are assaulted because of their group membership), but can be ‘symbolic’ (an incident or crime is committed to send a message to the group), as reporting suggested the use of pork and alcohol left at the gates of a mosque, or inside it, to communicate that Muslims are not welcome. Symbolic victimisation is as important as actuarial victimisation as they are embedded in deep-rooted prejudice and can severely impact community cohesion.

Study 2 of the thesis revealed that in the minds of the participants, Muslims are the primary victims of hate crimes. Supporting past literature (see. Allen, 2015; Awan & Zempi, 2016; Kaplan, 2006; Rangoonwala & Epinoza, 2011), Muslim women adorning religious dress were storied to experience the most victimisation, ranging from subtle name-calling and verbal abuse, through to being physically abused (e.g. punched and kicked), and then left to fend for themselves. These experiences were narrated to cause psychological, emotional, and physical harm to the victims, in line with what is reported in hate crime victimisation literature(see. Benier, 2017; Chakraborti, 2012; Turpin-Petrosino, 2015) . In general, what is reflected in the stories is the view that there is a ubiquitous hate for the Muslim community, either through being scapegoat for the negative actions of extremist Islamic groups, or likened to Islamic groups due to their physical appearance and religious identity . Furthermore, construction of the Muslim image in the media as terrorists (Nurullah, 2010; Powell, 2011; Saeed, 2007), with terrorists in Muslim outfits holding religious text (i.e. Quran), has rendered Muslim religious dress to signify danger, and all Muslims as a threatening out-group. These constructions are encouraging, in that the participants identify the vulnerability of Muslim women as the prime recipients of hate crimes, however it also cautions against the prevailing thoughts of all Muslims being terrorists, or at least supportive of terrorism, as reflected in the stories. If all Muslims are perceived in a negative light, then Islamophobic violence and anti-Muslim hate crimes can continue to rise, leading to the alienation of this group. However, the study small sample size with respect to the size of the UK does not allow such conclusions to be drawn, yet it does explain on some level how visible differences can motivate out-group prejudice and discrimination.

2) Problems of anti-Semitic hate crimes: Anti-Semitic hate crimes present an identical problem to that of Anti-Islamic hate crimes, in that they both are directed towards the wider communities of people of these faiths. The socio-political and historical events facilitate a negative interpretation of these two religions as backward and incongruent to the modern society, and so these assumptions are directed towards the members of these religions. Although significant work is being conducted on anti-Muslim hate crimes (e.g. Allen, 2017; Awan & Zempi, 2016, 2017; Considine, 2017; Feldman & Littler, 2014), and dedicated reporting methods are available for Islamophobia (e.g. Tell MAMA), anti-Jewish hate crimes have not received such attention. Iganski (2007) outlined that anti-Semitism has been significantly limited in scholarly literature on policing racist hate crimes, as well as noting that limited published data was evident in anti-Jewish hate crimes. Though more is known about anti-Semitic hate crimes comparative to a decade ago, much work is needed both academically, and in practice, to safeguard the Jewish community, to show that their victimisation is taken seriously by law enforcement and accompanying policies. Furthermore, work on the experiences of victims of hate crimes needs to be undertaken to understand the aftermath of these crimes on the emotional and psychological well-being of these victims, which is scarce in hate crime literature.

6.4 Key Implications for Future Research

This research provided an understanding and insight into race and religious hate crimes, both in terms of its reporting in the media, as well its perception in the minds of the general public. Whilst the research drew on, and supported earlier attributes and notions of hate crimes e.g. location of the crimes i.e. close to home (Martin, 1996; Messner et al., 2004; Strom, 2001), it also provided nuances and added further insights into the body of knowledge.

Implication 1:

The findings in study 1 revealed that in most cases of race and religious hate crimes represented in the media, there was no relation between the victims and perpetrators of these crimes. The study also highlighted that majority of these crimes are committed by males (78.2%) compared to females (8.9%), with rest of the reports not outlining the gender of the

perpetrator. The findings that these crimes are suggested to predominantly involve male:male altercation has been widely reported in literature (see. Mason, 2005; McDevitt et al., 2001).

The first point that there is no relationship between the victim and the perpetrator supports the view that there a strong 'stranger-danger' associated with hate crimes (see. Mason, 2005). The 'stranger-danger' of hate crimes implies that anyone and everyone can be a victim of hate crime. More importantly, victims need to be able to recognise their victimisation as a hate crime due to their actual or perceived difference, rather than an 'off-chance' event, as victims of hate crimes are more likely to be re-victimised (Anderson et al., 2002). Therefore, individuals need to understand that hate crimes exist in society, so that they are aware when they are victims of such crimes, or witness such victimisation towards other people. This awareness of hate crime victimisation is limited, especially amongst those who are socially and economically marginalised within society e.g. asylum seekers, immigrants, and refugees (Chakraborti & Hardy, 2014). More needs to be done to educate people, firstly, about what hate crime is, and secondly, the support available to them in the event of a perceived or an actual hate crime victimisation. This would help alleviate some of the problems associated with the underreporting of these crimes (see. Hardy, 2019), as providing information on who to contact can make victims feel supported, whilst communicating that their victimisation will be taken seriously.

In study 2, there was a potential over-emphasis on Islam and Muslims in the stories imagined by the participants, perhaps due to their visibility in the media as the supposed victims and perpetrators of religiously-motivated violence (see. Zempi & Chakraborti, 2014). However, this is not to say that anti-Muslim hate crimes should not be recorded and investigated in its entirety, rather it suggests a lack of understanding of other strands of hate that are protected under the guidelines in the UK (College of Policing, 2014), especially because apart from two studies writing about LGBT, the rest were skewed towards race and religious hate crime, when told to complete a story on unspecified hate crime. Although, this research has highlighted some knowledge of hate crimes amongst a small sample of the general population, this is only a drop in an ocean, as this understanding of hate crime cannot be assumed amongst the whole UK population.

Implication 2:

Study 1 of this thesis suggested 'lone wolf' perpetration to be the majority of the incidents reported in the media involving one-to-one perpetration, thus aiding the constructing of a culture view that challenges the widely held view in hate crime academia and scholarship, advocating hate crimes to be a multiple offender or group crime (see. McDevitt et al., 2002; Zaykowski, 2010). If 'thrill-motivated' hate crimes are the most common types of hate crimes, and they are triggered by a desire to display power and experience a sense of rush (see. McDevitt et al., 2002), then one-to-one hate crimes would seem only a partial explanation, for it may afford immediate self-gratification and esteem to the person, but, as McDevitt et al. (2002) point out, someone being present for the perpetrator to *"brag"* to about their actions, is an aspect of this crime; the displaying of power. This supports the view that there is "more to these attacks than bored youths simply seeking *"thrills"*, as they reveal the existence of negative attitudes and stereotypes about marginalised groups" (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009, p. 27). While the newspaper may misconstrue the nature of hate crimes as individualistic crimes, it is worth considering what influences individuals to victimise others in the absence of peer-pressure, or other group based factors (i.e. the need to ascribe to the values of their group). This has major implications for the difference in understanding of hate crime amongst the general public, hates crime scholarship, and policing, especially when cultural understanding is the basis by which policies are seen as fair and just, and indeed can drive hate crime literature. To elaborate, if hate crime literature reports hate crimes to involve multiple offenders, and shapes hate crime policy accordingly, then the training received by the police will focus on this. But if the public have a different view of hate crime, and remember the police themselves are part of the community, then acceptance of this actuality will be hindered.

Implication 3:

This research proposes that ethnocentrism can predict positive or negative attitudes towards immigrants. Ethnocentrism can increase out-group derogation and prejudice by adjudging one's in-group as prominent and important, while rendering an out-group as undesirable (Reichard, Dollwett, & Louw-Potgeiter, 2014). This can affect several aspects of community,

and impact adversely on community cohesion, as well as increasing authoritarianism (Van Assche, Roets, Dhont, & Van Hiel, 2016). However, when this position of the in-group 'superiority' is challenged or attacked, they may promote feelings of retributive violence and lower self-esteem. In this way, feeling of enhanced ethnocentrism maintains a negative race-relation between the in-group and perceived out-groups, impacting psychological capital (e.g. hope, self-efficacy, optimism, and resilience; Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007). However, cultural intelligence training (i.e. cognitive, affective, and behavioural training to integrate information, search multiple cues, and avoid judgements to improve interactions in multicultural settings; Earley & Ang, 2003) has been shown reduce ethnocentrism and increase openness and acceptance of other cultural groups, and out-groups more generally. However, such training courses cannot be administered to every person due to resource and economic constraints. Therefore, what is proposed is the potential to incorporate cross-cultural psychology course, or subjects which teach about cross-cultural differences and similarities, to develop a mindset where valuing and being proud of one's identity does not necessitate the diminishing or absence of respect, warmth, and acceptance, of different identities. This nurturing of cultural intelligence in schools, therefore has the potential to reduce stereotyping and prejudice that is the platform for ethnocentrism. The proposal is not mere speculation, for positive outcomes of intercultural communication and multiculturalism in school has been reported in empirical papers testing this notion (see. Dong, Day, & Collaco, 2008; Pettijohn & Naples, 2009). For instance, when considering hate crimes, statistics show that victimisation of people in schools and colleges are motivated by racial, religious, or ethnic bias of the perpetrators (Arizaga, Bauman, Waldo, & Castellanos, 2005). At the same time, more activities promotion of cultural awareness needs to be held in neighbourhoods and communities, both regionally and nationally, to unite different cultures, and promote a positive sense of multiculturalism (Dong et al., 2008).

Implication 4:

The stories of how people imagine the victim, and perpetrator to be, and the reports of hate crimes in the paper, can be used to build arguments or stories against these perception, so people can 'get to know' what the Other is like, and hence be a type of Contact Theory Approach (see. Pettrigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner & Christ, 2011), as has been argued to reduce prejudice. Cameron, Rutland, Brown and Douch

(2006) tested how stories of other group member's positive contact with an out-group member reduce intergroup prejudice. The researchers used two groups of British children, where one group of British children heard stories of other British children's positive interaction with a refugee child, whilst another group of children heard no such stories (i.e. control group). They found that the children who had heard the story had more positive attitudes towards the refugee children, compared to those who did not hear the story. Similarly, Turner, West, and Christie (2013) demonstrated that imagined contact (the imagination of a social interaction with a member of members of out-group; see Crisp & Turner, 2009), can also be an effective method to reduce implicit prejudice. In their study, they showed school children aged 16-17 years a picture of an asylum seeker from Zimbabwe. They found that those who imagined contact had stronger inclination to be friends with asylum seekers. Thus, extended and imagined contact can be fruitful and flexible strategy in reducing intergroup hostility and implicit prejudice.

With reference to hate crimes, newspaper reports can include information about the victim's background, their history, and their accomplishments. This would facilitate the idea that the victim is much like other individuals, and not an 'other' (who is perceived as deserving of derogation and victimisation). More specifically, this intervention could potentially be used with perpetrators of these crimes as a treatment programme, to reduce the implicit prejudice and hostility towards out-group members. The advantage of this method is that it can be adapted to the needs to the person or group to reduce prejudice. In other words, the imagined or extended contact can be changed based on the prejudice of the individual, for example if a person has prejudice towards Muslims, then the intervention can designed to reduce anti-Muslim sentiments. Although this is not a panacea to the problem, maybe, but it could point out people are in contact but do not know each other – the '*strange citizen*' – so the imagined contact could still be important intervention.

<u>Implication 5:</u>

This thesis has provided support for the use of psychological theories and concepts in explaining behaviours of hate crime perpetrators. In doing so, ethnocentrism has been pinpointed as a potential factor leading to intergroup prejudice. However, future research

needs to replicate these findings to support that this trend is widely prevalent, rather than being a one-off finding. Future work should investigate ethnocentric bias of hate crime perpetrators to assist the profiling of these offenders, and ascertain whether ethnocentrism is evident across all types of hate crime perpetration, or limited to crimes motivated by racial and religious prejudice. More importantly, while psychological concepts should be incorporated into hate crime scholarship, a psychological-cultural-social prism is needed to tackle hate crimes head-on. This PhD has started this process.

Implication 6:

To really get at the nature of hate-crime for the victim's perspective it may be advantageous to set up a webpage, where victim can write about their experiences, tell their stories, anonymously. While there are problems with this suggest, in that the victims would need to be 'cyber space savvy' and be relatively writing skills competence, such a resource would not only be useful for academic, policing, and training purposes, but will allow victims to recognise that their experiences are not solitary, as well as be useful for self-help groups. Victimisation based on hate-motivation significantly impacts social cohesion (Lyons, 2007), with victims noting greater nervousness, suspicion, and feelings of vulnerability to re-victimised (Garland & Hodkinson, 2014).The similarity or contrast in these stories to those generated in study two (the story-completion) would present an interesting image of what is imagined by the non-victimised/unidentified members of the general public to what is reported by the victims of hate crimes.

6.5 Limitations of the Study

This section will draw on the key limitations of this research.

Study 1:

Limitation 1:

In study 1, the analysis of the newspaper reports to delineate the representation of all the features of race and religious hate crime may have a sample limitation. Though all efforts were made to include all the newspaper reports from tabloid and broadsheet newspapers

circulating in the UK, there may be some reports not reflected in the analysis of this study. There are two main reasons for this; firstly, some of the race and religious hate crime incidents reported in the newspapers may not be stored on the Lexis-Nexis database, and the newspaper website archives, secondly, the search terms used in this study may have filtered out a number of cases of hate crimes. Nonetheless, the latter point should be considered more a circumspection, rather than methodological limitation, as all the terms in the definitions in academia and hate crime legislations (e.g. home office, college of policing, etc.) denoting bias motivated crimes (e.g. race, racism, ethnic*), were included in the search.

Limitation 2:

The understanding of key features in race and religious hate crimes presented in this study may be limited by the selective reporting of the media. Newspapers tend to favour sensational new, by reporting events that are seemed more serious, and are more violent in nature (Naylor, 2001), characterised by the (level of) violence involved. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of the features and characteristics of these crimes may not be available, as the key features of the more subtle expressions of hate such as graffiti and verbal abuse may be absent. Thus, analysis of newspapers alone cannot fully explain what is involved in hate crimes, and so, a mixed media approach (e.g. use of social media, newspapers, etc. together) in developing a coding dictionary to analyse the features and characteristics of these crimes may be better suited.

Limitation 3:

The timeframe of data collection may have skewed the findings of the study. The data for the study was collected between January 2015and June 2016. The earlier data collection may have reflected bona fide hate crime events, as there was not a moral panic surrounding this phenomenon. Conversely, newspaper reports closer to June 2016 (nearing EU referendum) may have reflected ‘panic’ response of people of a colour, or those following a particular faith, with individuals perhaps perceiving increased hate victimisation, due to the open expression of prejudice prevailing in society at the time (see. Ridley, 2016). Also, the ‘freedom’ to publicly derogate those seen as an ‘other’ in days running up to BREXIT vote, may have resulted in more derogatory comments (i.e. verbal abuse), which was perhaps

reported in newspapers, given the social-political discourse at the time. These subtle prejudices would not have been reported previously (see. Hardy, 2019), or covered by newspapers, as they probably would not be considered 'high intensity', thus the timing of data collection is considered to have affected the frequency, and type of reporting within the data collection timeframe. This idea needs further support, perhaps by carrying out an analysis on the frequency of hate crimes prior to the EU referendum, months running up to the referendum, and after the BREXIT vote, as well as noting what features were reported in the newspapers at these three time points.

Limitation 4:

Given the large-scale nature of the study, whereby tabloids and broadsheet newspapers from regional and national reporting were analysed, it is acknowledged that the researcher may have missed some features and characteristics of race and religious hate crimes. In devising a coding dictionary single-handedly, the researcher may not have attended to some of the codes, or overlooked them as being important, therefore it is possible that some features may be omitted in the findings. On reflection, the codes needed to be confirmed by a second analyser, to ensure that all the codes are interpreted and included correctly in the database. However, given it was a PhD study, a second researcher was not available to proof-check the coding dictionary in this study.

Study 2:

Limitation 1:

Another limitation across this research, and especially pertinent to study 2, is the limited number of BAME (Black, Asian, Minority and Ethnic) participants in the sample, as oppose to the majority of the recipients of hate crimes being from the BAME community (Athwal, Bourne, & Wood, 2010; Rowe, 2004; Spalek, 2008). Added to this that intersectionality, "a broad-based theoretical perspective that conceptualises race, class, gender, sexuality, and other systems of inequalities as interlocking and mutually constitutive" (Harnois, 2017; 143) is not voiced in the study. However, "Individuals always experience… a combination of multiple statuses, as well as within the context of multiple social hierarchies" (Harnois, 2017;

143). Taking these issues together, and in particular reference to the stories told in study 2 of the social-cultural understanding of hate crime, the narrations given and hence the themes observed are rather one-dimensional and parochial. So, in some respects this study's notions should not be accepted uncritically for they can add to the victims of race and religious hate crimes being silenced (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Perry, 2001) due to their imagination, in particular, of the police and perpetrators, being absent. Therefore, the experiences of these individuals are paramount to understand the impacts of the culture of hate crimes, particularly if successful policies are to be developed.

Limitation 2:

The participants were not required to provide information about whether they have been victims or perpetrators, or if they have worked in the police or other agencies (i.e. victim support centres) that deal with cases of hate crimes. Therefore, the responses given in the victim perspectives are not reflective account of victimisation, but only possible first person accounts. Similarly, the defendant/perpetrator perspective presents the participants imagination of how these actors are likely to behave, and what they are likely to say, when they are victimising their target, or defending and justifying their actions to the police. This conceptualisation perhaps elucidates the discourse of a typical defendant/perpetrator of hate crimes, maybe through what is seen and heard in the media or in society more generally. The police perspective may be reflection of the image of the police as "crime fighters" (Chong, 2018; Hu, Rodgers & Lovrich, 2018), who try to maintain law and order by attending to crimes, investigating them, and working towards providing justice to the victim. The utility of each of the perspectives is the research based nature of the horizons of possible understandings they make available, rather than the truthfulness they orate. Subsequent, work should question at the offset if participants have been victims of hate crimes, to determine if the views they present are reflective of their engagement with hate crimes, especially when discussing policing and support associated with these crimes.

Limitations 3:

The experiences of hate crime victimisation amongst the BAME community are not well understood (see. Gavrielides, Lewis Parle, Liberatore, Mavadia & Arjomand, 2008), possibly

because these groups do not report their victimisation (Chakraborti et al., 2014; Christmann & Wong, 2010), even when they are more likely to be victims of hate crimes (Perry, 2001). One of the possible reasons why victims of hate crimes do not report their victimisation is due to language barrier (see. Anderson et al., 2002; Culotta, 2005), thus the difference (i.e. ethnicity) that singles out the victim, also becomes the reason for why they cannot report their experience (Culotta, 2005). A conclusive argument of what hate crimes entail and its impact on individuals cannot be establish if the experiences of highly vulnerable groups (e.g. BAME) is missing. The nature of study 2 warranted that participants be competent in English language, and as a result, understanding of hate crimes amongst individuals who cannot communicate their experiences, yet are still highly prone to such victimisation, were excluded in this study. Whilst it must be understood that this study was not about the actual experience of victimisation of hate crimes, it is still a limitation of the study, insofar it does not present a comprehensive summary of the understanding of hate crimes in the UK, rather it resonates understanding of hate crimes amongst of people who can 'voice' their imaginations. The knowledge that one's own community is chief target of victimisation may lead to different conceptualisation of these crimes, thus it would provide a deeper understanding of hate crimes amongst the general public, whilst identifying the concepts that the BAME communities imagine when thinking about hate crimes.

Study 3:

Limitation 1:

Online survey are limited in two fundamental ways; self-selection and under coverage (Bethlehem, 2010; Weigold, Weigold & Russell, 2013). In online surveys, like the one in the study 3 of the thesis, the survey questionnaires are simply put on the web, and so, respondents are those who have internet access, visit the website, and decide to participate in the survey (Bethlehem, 2010). The researcher has no control over the recruitment process, as well as the sample not being randomly tested, affecting the generalisability of the data retained. Moreover, the sample selection mechanism of surveys means that some elements of the target population are not covered in the sample, leading to under coverage of many individuals within the target population. Similar to study 3, if surveys are reliant on access to internet access, then the coverage is only of the sub-population with internet access, which cannot inform the researcher about the opinions, attitudes and belief systems of the target

population as a whole. In addition to this, the study used seven questionnaires to investigate attitudes to immigrants, and so, the responses to the later questionnaire may be affected by fatigue. It is necessary to expand this study to those who do not have access to these devices to capture encapsulating attitudes of the general public.

Limitation 2:

The survey in study 3 collected data from February 2016 to April 2018 i.e. pre- and post-BREXIT. The months preceding the BREXIT vote were filled with anti-immigrant sentiments, and the rhetoric of 'Leave' campaign was focussed upon 'taking back control' through controlling British borders and British law making, whilst restricting immigration (see. Hobolt, 2016). This prevailing discourse at the time of survey completion may have skewed participant responses, especially to scales measuring ethnocentrism, ethnocultural empathy, authoritarianism, and vengeance, led by either their support or opposition to the BREXIT vote. Therefore, the data collected months before and after the BREXIT vote may indicate the respondents strong attitudes towards the campaign (i.e. Leave or Remain), or emotional responses following the outcome of the election. The later survey completions (i.e. post-2017) may not be affected by this, as similar debates on anti-immigration were not evident in society and the media, thus the responses may be reflection of deep-rooted feelings and attitudes.

Limitation 3:

The survey did not ask about the actor status of the participants. In other words, it is unclear whether the participants have been a victim or perpetrator of hate crimes. This is an important limitation, not least to understand whether the responses are a consequence of victimisation at the hands of an out-group member, or attitudes that lead to out-group perpetration. Literature has shown that hate crime victimisation can lead to negative outlook and appraisal of out-group and its members (Dunbar, 2006; Zaykowski, 2010). Thus, victims are more likely to be high on ethnocentrism, as they evaluate an out-group negatively. According to SDT, those individuals high on SDO may also be more authoritarian, and have a pro-vengeance attitude. Conversely, if the responses are from perpetrators of these crimes, then the data can provide

information on hate crime perpetrators, through which methods can be devised to reduce hate crimes.

Limitation 4:

The survey required that the participants be sufficiently literate in English language to be able to comprehend and respond in a way that their response could be seen a valid. This is a major drawback of the study when generalising the findings to the populations in the UK. This is especially the case when we consider ethnic groups that have settled in Britain but do not speak English to a competent level, if at all. Also the study was less comprehensive as it could be because;

1. There was no differentiation of those who have migrated and settled in England, and those who are born in Britain, this is an important limitation as those who identify as indigenous British may not have much intergroup and interethnic contact, as those who have settled in Britain.
2. Regional factors needed to be considered, for people from cosmopolitan area have been shown to display embrace multiculturalism more (Beck, 2002; Watson, 2017).
3. Social class, commonly seen in terms of socioeconomic status can also be argued to impact, for Manstead (2018) point out that people from different class have different orientation to the environment. Upper class are argued to take a solipsism philosophy to the world; this is an individualistic orientation that is motivated by internal psychological process to the environment. In comparison, lower class people are viewed to be external orientated who aim to manage situation limitations, perils and relationship.

6.6 Conclusion

The studies in this doctoral thesis aimed to explore the facets of race and religious hate crime using an exploratory approach. Specifically, the focus was placed on how these crimes are portrayed in the media through the analysis of newspaper reports, and how these crimes are perceived by the general public, before investigating factors that can increase negativity towards out-groups (e.g. immigrants).

In study 1, it was found that race and religious hate crimes still evidence the widely discussed notion that these crimes are committed in close proximity to the victims home (see. Martin, 1996; Messner et al., 2004; Strom, 2001), and there is a 'stranger danger' associated with these crimes (Mason, 2005). However, this research discovered that hate crimes are more readily committed in a wider public sphere (e.g. hospitals, community centres, and even restaurant), in addition to the crimes serving a more symbolic function (i.e. communicating message of hate to the neighbourhood, community or group), through the use of racially or religiously prohibited items (e.g. throwing pork in a mosque) to subordinate the victim and their group. Study 1 findings highlighted that most hate crimes are committed by young men which is consistent with past research (Herek et al., 2002; McDevitt et al., 2002). Previous findings that hate crimes are mainly committed in groups (Levin & McDevitt, 1993), was not found in this study. Key findings in this study were that majority of race hate crimes occur between 12pm – 6pm, whilst religious hate crimes are more likely to occur between 6pm – 12pm, with significantly more hate crimes visible on the weekends compared to weekdays. Explanations for these trends in the findings have been offered, however it is acknowledged that they are mere theories, and further work in this area is warranted.

Despite that, study 1 of the thesis has provided insights into the media representation of race and religious hate crimes, which is considered to be important as if the general public's perceptions and understanding of hate crimes are based on what is seen or heard in the media (i.e. newspapers), then this can potentially impact what they see as hate crime victimisation, and what they are likely to report based on this understanding. Therefore, agencies dealing with hate crimes (e.g. police) should be informed about these perceptions and understanding of the general public, so that they do not miss any hate-motivated victimisation that is not reflected as such according to their guidelines, as this can exacerbate the problems of under-reporting, whilst further disrupting police-public relations if the public feel their victimisation is not taken seriously.

Study 2 of the thesis found that the general public understand hate crimes to stem form 'antagonistic aspersions', that is that they believe that hate crime perpetration is motivated by

the in-group (defendant/perpetrator) appraising an identity threat from intrusive out-groups. In narrating this, participants draw on the concepts of active opposition and resistance to being displaced by the out-group, by storying out-group members to be insincere, dangerous and a threat to the dominant group i.e. 'a destructive community'. The participants also tell of how victims of hate crimes may come to know their experiences as commonplace, and accept their victimisation as 'normal', leading them to question their own sense of belonging and assimilation with the host culture. Other themes found in the study highlight the perceptions of the environment being hostile with the defendant/perpetrators trying to determine ownership by marginalising and derogating out-groups, with subtle acts of shadowing or fencing the victims to confine them to a certain place, to direct orders asking out-groups members to *"go back"*, thus reiterating the out-group status of the victim. The victims are constructed as 'aliens' with values, practices and belief systems that are inconsistent and incompatible with those of the in-group, thus they are forced to act in accordance with the host cultures norms, by questioning participants choice of clothing (e.g. religious dress). The participants understand the police to be prompt and proactive in their responses to hate crime events, as they are storied to investigate the event and have the defendant/perpetrator on their radar.

The findings of the studies important, not least because they show an understanding of hate crimes amongst the general public, especially race and religious hate crimes. In line with hate crime literature, the study show that hate crimes involve the derogation of out-group members to marginalise them and reduce them to a subordinate position (Perry, 2001), making them feel unwelcome and communicating that they do not belong. The message prophecy of hate crimes (see. Noelle, 2002) was also echoed in this study, with members of a race or religious out-group targeted to show dissent towards the group as a whole. However, participants were noted to use race and religion interchangeably when completing a story from either perspective. For instance, when asked to write a story on race hate crime, participants wrote a story of victimisation towards members of a certain religion (mainly Muslims), conversely when asked to write a story of religious hate crimes, they commented on the race of the victim. Thus in the eyes of the participants, race and religious hate crimes can be understood to be the same, as both the groups can be considered out-groups, who are likely to be victimised by the in-group due to their difference.

Study 3 suggested that negative attitudes towards immigrants (i.e. an out-group) are primarily driven by ethnocentrism amongst in-group members. Individuals with in-group favouritism, whereby they judge the standards and customs of their own culture more favourability will show greater prejudice towards other cultures and their values. However, the findings revealed that these attitudes may be mediated by authoritarianism, ethnocultural empathy, and feelings of vengeance. The link between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism is consistent with literature advocating that authoritarian individuals will favour adherence to norms, and so be more ethnocentric. Similarly, the threat responses experienced by in-groups members from out-groups, leads to lower ethnocultural empathy entailing a rejection of cultural differences. The rejection of cultural differences leads to greater disparity between the groups, and consequential hostility towards out-group members. In this study, vengeance is understood as a response to the perceived as response to the perceptions that the in-group is being displaced with the other group taking over resources, and affecting the in-group distinctiveness. The in-group members are understood to have a greater vengeance motivation and in turn victimise out-group members who are held responsible for the existing problems in society.

The basis of negative attitudes towards immigrants is understood to be ethnocentric ideologies of individuals, and ethnocentrism of the entire in-group. Thus this area of research is important to hate crimes to understand the phenomena in more depth, to develop strategies to reduce ethnocentrism and facilitate the acceptance of cultural differences. This would reduce the number of hate crimes evident in society, especially those motivated by the out-group status of the individual. A multicultural society such as Britain can benefit from the differences of the individuals (e.g. experiences, customs, traditions etc.), rather than seeing the differences as insincere and antagonistic.

Take Home Message of the Thesis

The media are saying it is lone-wolf, the stories told by the participants are making the claims that it is specific individuals, the questionnaires makes it out to be internal psychological variables, all these deny that it is also a social-cultural event, as evidenced by the increase in hate crimes since BREXIT. By focusing on the individual in this way, the social and cultural structures remain untouched, unexamined, and ready to be enacted.

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Appendices

The **Appendices** section contains materials across the three studies across this PhD thesis.

Appendix 1. Hate Crime Variables in Race and Religious Hate Crimes

	Key Variables in Race and Religious Hate Crimes
1	Offense Characteristic e.g. verbal abuse, minor injury
2	Weapon Use
3	Weapon Type
4	Victim Gender
5	Perpetrator Gender
6	Victim Religion
7	Perpetrator Religion
8	Perpetrator psychological illness
9	Number of victims
10	Number of perpetrators
11	Age of Victim
12	Age of Perpetrator
13	Victim Ethnicity
14	Perpetrator Ethnicity
15	Victim-Perpetrator Relationship
16	Location of attack
17	Sentence Type
18	Sentence Length
19	Victim Injury
20	Injury Type
21	Day of the week
22	Time of attack

Appendix 2. Victim Perspective – Hate Story

Hate Crime: The Victim Perspective

In each incident a victim claims that a certain crime was committed against them. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the person who attacked the victim and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial in relation to this crime.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the victim who has accused someone committing a hate crime against them."

Appendix 3. Police Perspective – Hate Story

Hate Crime: The Police Perspective

In each incident a police charged a person for a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place that would have led the police to have charged a person with committing a hate crime."

Appendix 4. Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective – Hate Story

Hate Crime: The Defendant Perspective

In each incident the defendant is charged with a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the accused to defend themselves against the victim's charges of the defendant committing a hate crime."

Appendix 5. Victim Perspective – Race Hate Story

Race Hate Crime: The Victim Perspective

In each incident a victim claims that a certain crime was committed against them. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the person who attacked the victim and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial in relation to this crime.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the victim who has accused someone committing a race hate crime against them."

Appendix 6. Police Perspective – Race Hate Story

Race Hate Crime: The Police Perspective

In each incident a police charged a person for a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place that would have led the police to have charged a person with committing a race hate crime."

Appendix 7. Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective – Race Hate Story

Race Hate Crime: The Defendant Perspective

In each incident the defendant is charged with a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the accused to defend themselves against the victim's charges of the defendant committing a race hate crime."

Appendix 8. Victim Perspective – Religious Hate Story

Religious Hate Crime: The Victim Perspective

In each incident a victim claims that a certain crime was committed against them. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the person who attacked the victim and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial in relation to this crime.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the victim who has accused someone committing a religious hate crime against them."

Appendix 9. Police Perspective – Religious Hate Story

Religious Hate Crime: The Police Perspective

In each incident a police charged a person for a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place that would have led the police to have charged a person with committing a religious hate crime."

Appendix 10. Defendant/Perpetrator Perspective – Religious Hate Story

Religious Hate Crime: The Defendant Perspective

In each incident the defendant is charged with a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial.

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the accused to defend themselves against the victim's charges of the defendant committing a religious hate crime."

Appendix 11. Analysed Example of a Story-Completion Task Story

RACE HATE 2

10

Purpose of the study

The research endeavours to study how racial and religious hate crime incidents are construed by the general public. Hate crime reporting typically is low, and not all reported hate crimes are treated as hate crime, especially if another motive is pertinent, and so these crimes increase as a counter strategy is not employed. Hence understanding the key features of racial and religious hate crime is paramount in effectively recording and handling these cases. Furthermore, understanding how the general public view racial and religious hate crime can support the police who write these incident reports to differentiate between hate crime reporting and other crimes.

How was this tested?

In this study, the views, attitudes and beliefs towards the key features and characteristics of racial and religious hate crime was assessed using the story completion task after being allocated to the racial hate crime scenario or religious hate crime scenario group. All participants completed this story completion task and were informed that there were no correct answers and responses should be based on their feeling and beliefs on what would be included in the story.

Why is this study important?

Hate and hate crime are inevitably on the rise following the change in political climate with the rise of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the terror attacks in France and the constant struggle to reduce terrorism internationally. Nonetheless, hate crime is also on the rise in the local and national realm severely disrupting community cohesion and positive outlook towards those perceived as 'other' i.e. not belonging to ones racial, religious or social group. This research is important to outline the general public's views and opinions on what features and characteristics are prevalent in racial and religious hate crime, and if, certain features are unique which would help the police better handle these cases from the community's perspective.

If you have any questions or if you wish to gain further information about the study or the aims of the study the investigator and the supervisor can be contacted via email on rdave@post01.lincoln.ac.uk or alternatively via this number: 07935007104

If you would like further information about the ethics of this study you can contact the ethics committee at the University of Lincoln via email: [redacted]

If you have been a victim of hate crime or have been affected by this study and would like to discuss this further then please contact the hate crime victim support.

Victim Support: 0808 168 9111

Stop Hate Crime: 0800 138 1625

Please click submit which will take you back to the study redirect you to the University of Lincoln study page where you can read and print off the debrief again.

Story Completion Task

Information

Thank you for considering taking part in this study. The aim of the study is to investigate the key features and characteristics of racial and religious hate crime incidents. The story completion task requires you to write a story outlining a typical racial or religious hate crime event. There are no right or wrong answers or descriptions, so please complete the story based on what best describes your views and feelings of what information these crime scenarios typically involve.

To commence with the study, **you will need to be 18 years age or older** and be able to read and understand written English. This is important because the story completion task will need to be completed in English and it focuses on crime incidents, therefore not relevant to people under the age of 18.

Who are the researchers?

This research is being undertaken by undergraduate research students at the University of Lincoln for a Research Skills project under the supervision of Ravi Dave (PhD student) at the University of Lincoln. The project may be used as a study forming the PhD thesis for Ravi Dave. The project has been approved by the Psychology Research Ethics Committee at the University of Lincoln.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

The study will seek no personal identifiable information as such name, date of birth and so on. All information collected will be stored on password protected computers or in a secure place so that the information is only available to the research team. The responses provided will be completely anonymous and you cannot be identified by the responses you give. You are free to withdraw from the study within two weeks without providing a reason for withdrawing.

Timing

The survey should take no longer than 15-20 minutes to complete

Withdraw

Your participation is completely voluntary and you are under no obligation to take part in the study. If you choose to participate, you will be free to withdraw from the study within two

weeks of participation without providing an explanation for your decision and all the data you have provided to that point will be withdrawn. All data collected will be kept confidential in a secure place or on password protected computers which will be available to the researchers for research purpose only. If at a later date you wish to withdraw, you can do so by emailing the researchers the 'memorable word' which you will be asked to give on the consent form. If you have any questions before participating please email the researchers (please find contact details below).

Risks

Participation in this study involves a story completion task which is widely used in psychology to better understand the views, attitudes, and beliefs of individuals. This story completion task will cover your views, attitudes and beliefs relating to racial and religious hate crime which will help to explore key features and characteristics expected in these crimes. In the case that you feel uncomfortable at any point or do not wish to continue at any stage please let the researcher know to discontinue and withdraw from the research immediately, and your data will be withdrawn and destroyed.

For Further information

If you would like further information about the study, please feel free to contact the researchers who will be happy to answer your questions about the study at any time.

Ravi Dave

Phone: 07935007104

Email: rdave@lincoln.ac.uk

Patrick Hylton
Email: phylton@lincoln.ac.uk

Consent Form

The purpose of the study is to explore what you feel are the features and characteristics are typical of racial and religious hate crime incident. The study is being conducted by undergraduate psychology students at the University of Lincoln and is being supervised by Ravi Dave (PhD Student).

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to participate. If you do decide to participate in the study, you are free to withdraw at any time and your data will be withdrawn.

The study involves completing a story on what you feel a typical racial or religious hate crime report would be like. The study should take between 10-15 minutes to complete. Your responses will be kept confidential on password protected computers or a secure place and available only to the researchers for research purposes. To protect your confidentiality, no person identifiable information e.g. name, date of birth etc will be collected.

If you have any further questions about the study, please contact the Principal Investigator Ravi Dave at the University of Lincoln via email or telephone on the details below:

Ravi Dave (07935007104, RDave@post01.lincoln.ac.uk)

Please confirm that you have completed the following before ticking the 'Agree' box:

1) I have read and understood the information provided and understand the nature and purpose of the research.

2) I have had an opportunity to contact the lead researcher to ask questions about the research

3) I voluntarily agree to participate and understand I am under no obligation to participate

4) I am 18 years of age or older

If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline consent by ticking the 'Disagree' box

☑ Agree ☐ Disagree

(Used to allow withdrawal from the research at a later date) Rupert — Memorable Word

Please note that this part of the questionnaire will be stored separately from your over all data

Demographic Information Sheet

1. How old are you?

Age: 36

2. What gender are you?

Gender: Male (Female)

3. Do you follow a particular religious faith / belief?

Religion: Buddhism (Christianity) Hinduism Judaism Islam Sikhism
Other Religion

4. How would you describe your race/ethnicity?

White: (British) Irish Scottish Welsh Other

British Asian: Indian Pakistani Bangladeshi Chinese Other

Black British: Caribbean African Other

Mixed:

5. What is your occupation?

Occupation: Student (Employed) Self-employed Unemployed

6. What is your level of Study?

Level of study: Pre-college AS-Level A-Level
Undergraduate (BSc, BA, LLB etc) (Postgraduate (MSc, MA, LLM etc) Doctorate

(10)

Story Completion Task

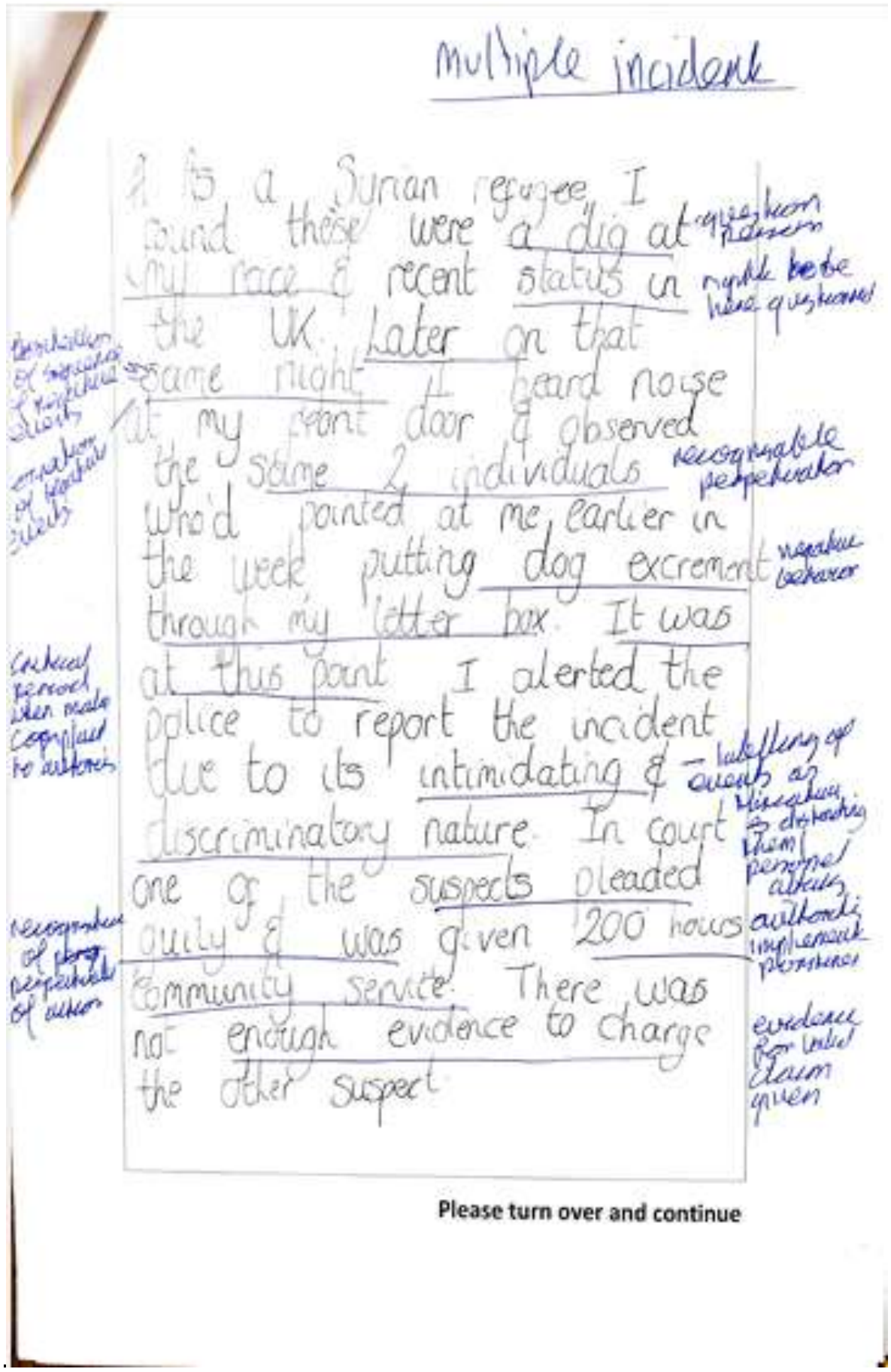
Race Hate Crime: The Victim Perspective

In each incident a victim claims that a certain crime was committed against them. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the person who attacked the victim and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during a trial in relation to this crime

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the victim who has accused someone of committing a race hate crime against them."

I was walking along the local high street last week, when a couple in their 30s started to point at me. I ignored them but they continued to follow me to my bus stop. Their behaviour was very negative, with comments such as "What are you doing here?" "Go home."

I chose to ignore their behaviour & thought nothing of it. A few ~~weeks~~ days later I was putting rubbish in my home bin when I noticed rubbish in my garden that had been thrown over the fence. I went to pick it up & noticed newspaper cuttings relating to asylum seekers.



multiple incident

As a Syrian refugee I found these were a dig at my race & recent status in the UK. Later on that same night I heard noise at my front door & observed the same 2 individuals who'd pointed at me earlier in the week putting dog excrement through my letter box. It was at this point I alerted the police to report the incident due to its intimidating & discriminatory nature. In court one of the suspects pleaded guilty & was given 200 hours community service. There was not enough evidence to charge the other suspect.

Please turn over and continue

10

Race Hate Crime: The Police Perspective

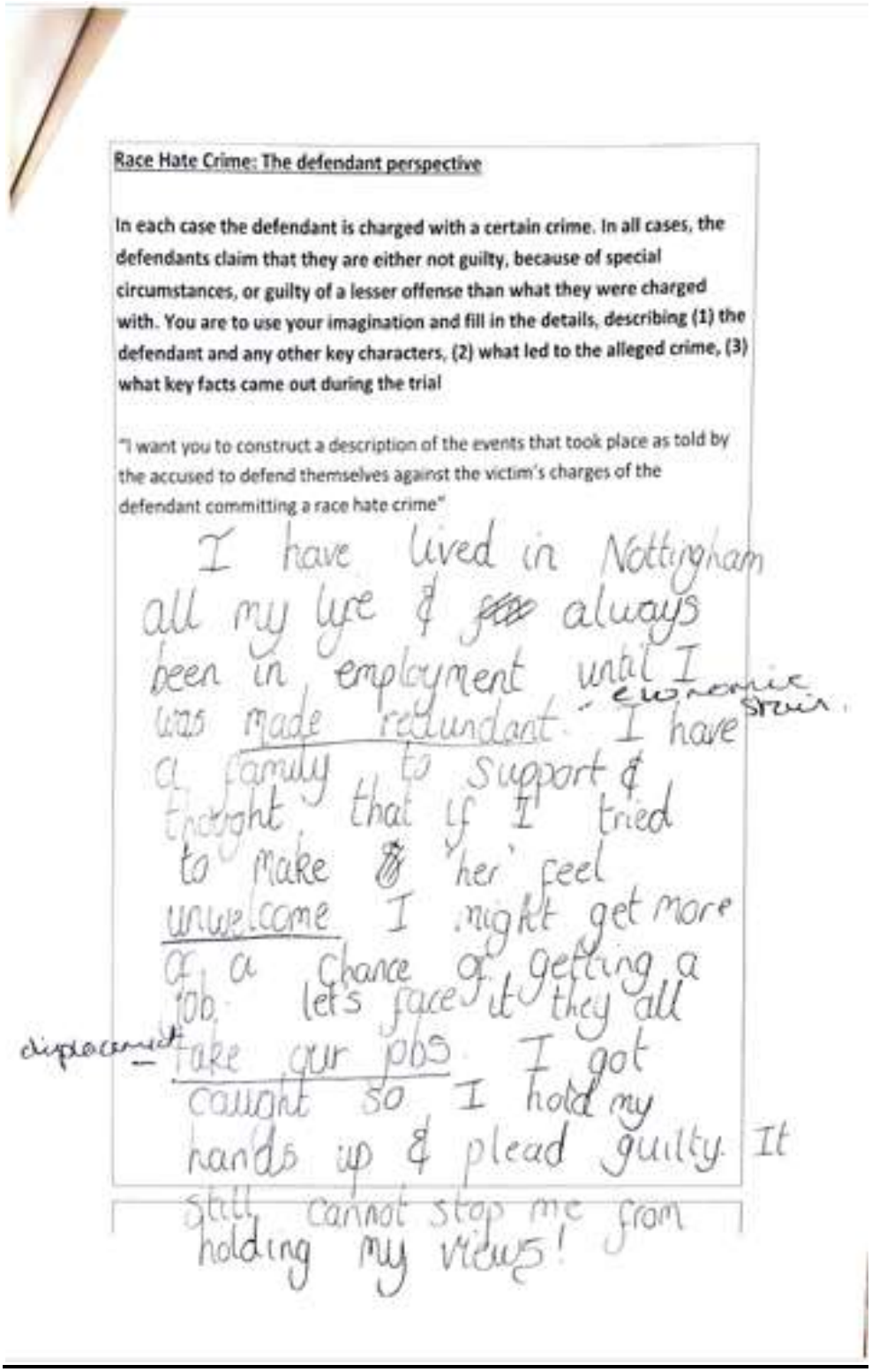
In each incident a Police charged a person for a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led up to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place that would have led the police to have charged a person with committing a race hate crime"

I visited the ~~defendant~~ victim following a 999 call relating to a racial incident. On police arrival there was dog mess on the hall floor. I took evidence gathering a detailed description of the events as reported by the victim & called for forensics to take finger prints of the letter box. I interviewed neighbours to see if they had witnessed anything - one gave a description of the defendant who is known to our force. The police next day we questioned him & he was charged with carrying

out the letter box crime. There was little evidence to bring charges from the other incidents. The defendent pleaded guilty in court.

Please turn over and continue



Race Hate Crime: The defendant perspective

In each case the defendant is charged with a certain crime. In all cases, the defendants claim that they are either not guilty, because of special circumstances, or guilty of a lesser offense than what they were charged with. You are to use your imagination and fill in the details, describing (1) the defendant and any other key characters, (2) what led to the alleged crime, (3) what key facts came out during the trial

"I want you to construct a description of the events that took place as told by the accused to defend themselves against the victim's charges of the defendant committing a race hate crime"

I have lived in Nottingham all my life & ~~xxx~~ always been in employment until I was made redundant. economic strain. I have a family to support & thought that if I tried to make ~~&~~ her feel unwelcome I might get more of a chance of getting a job. let's face it they all displacement — take our jobs. I got caught so I hold my hands up & plead guilty. It still cannot stop me from holding my views!

Please turn over and continue

Debrief Form

The research endeavours to study how racial and religious hate crime incidents are construed by the general public. Hate crime reporting typically is low, and not all reported hate crimes are treated as hate crime, especially if another motive is pertinent, and so these crimes increase as a counter strategy is not employed. Hence understanding the key features of racial and religious hate crime is paramount in effectively recording and handling these cases. Furthermore, understanding how the general public view racial and religious hate crime can support the police who write these incident reports to differentiate between hate crime reporting and other crimes.

How was this tested?

In this study, the views, attitudes and beliefs towards the key features and characteristics of racial and religious hate crime was assessed using the story completion task after being allocated to the racial hate crime scenario or religious hate crime scenario group. All participants completed this story completion task and were informed that there were no correct answers and responses should be based on their feeling and beliefs on what would be included in the story.

Why is this study important?

Hate and hate crime are inevitably on the rise following the change in political climate with the rise of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), the terror attacks in France and the constant struggle to reduce terrorism internationally. Nonetheless, hate crime is also on the rise in the local and national realm severely disrupting community cohesion and positive outlook towards those perceived as 'other' i.e. not belonging to ones racial, religious or social group. This research is important to outline the general public's views and opinions on what features and characteristics are prevalent in racial and religious hate crime, and if, certain features are unique which would help the police better handle these cases from the community's perspective.

If you have any questions or if you wish to gain further information about the study or the aims of the study the investigator and the supervisor can be contacted via email on rdave@post01.lincoln.ac.uk or alternatively via this number: 07935007104

If you would like further information about the ethics of this study you can contact the ethics committee at the University of Lincoln via email: soprec@lincoln.ac.uk

If you have been a victim of hate crime or have been affected by this study and would like to discuss this further then please contact the hate crime victim support.

Victim Support: 0808 168 9111

Stop Hate Crime: 0800 138 1625

Please click submit which will take you back to the study redirect you to the University of Lincoln study page where you can read and print off the debrief again.

Appendix 12. Recruitment Message for Study 3

Hi All,

Please can you help me with my PhD study on the key features of racial and religious hate crimes. The study uses a story-completion task, which will require you to write a story outlining a typical racial or religious hate crime event. There are no right or wrong answers or descriptions, so you can complete the story based on what describes your views and feelings of what information these crime scenarios typically involve.

Participation Criteria:

1) You will need to be of 18 years and older.

2) You will need to be able to read and understand English.

This is important because the story completion task will need to be completed in English and it focuses on crime incidents, therefore not relevant to people under the age of 18 years.

Thank you,

Ravi

Hi All,

Please can you help me with my PhD study on the factors that influence our understanding of different religions and ethnicities. The survey contains range of questions about personality, attitudes about different factors relating to understanding different communities, and beliefs about your own community. The questions asked are from established measures used in research in this area and some will cover the topics of religion, culture, personality and self-esteem.

Participation Criteria:

1) You will need to be of 18 years and older.

2) You will need to be able to read and understand English.

If you would like to participate then please click on the link below. All the study information is provided before the research question.

https://qtrial2013.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9T8w0n1eGD3tKfz

Thank you,

Ravi

Appendix 13. Culture-Free Self Esteem Inventory

CULTURE-FREE SEI, FORM

Name/Student Number_____ Age___ Date of Birth_____

Examiner_____ Today's Date_____ Total__G__S__P__I__

Directions

Please makr each question in the following way: If the question describes how you usually feel, make a check mark (_ ✔) in the "yes" column. If the question does not describe how you usually feel, make a check marks (✔) in the "no" column. Please check only one column (either "yes" or "no") for each of the 40 questions. This is *not* a test, and there are no "right or "wrong" answers.

		YES	NO
1.	Do you have only a few friends?	☐	☐
2.	Are you happy most of the time?	☐	☐
3.	Can you do most things as well as others?	☐	☐
4	.Do you like everyone you know?	☐	☐
5.	Do you spend most of your free time alone?	☐	☐
6.	Do you like being a male?/Do you like being a female?	☐	☐
7.	Do most people you know like you?	☐	☐
8.	Are you usually successful when you attempt important tasks or assignments?	☐	☐
9.	Have you ever taken anything that did not belong to you?	☐	☐
10.	Are you as intelligent as most people?	☐	☐
11.	Do you feel you are as important as most people?	☐	☐
12	Are you easily depressed?	☐	☐
13.	Would you change many things about yourself if you could	☐	☐
14.	Do you always tell the truth?	☐	☐
15.	Are you as nice looking as most people?	☐	☐
16.	Do many people dislike you?	☐	☐
17.	Are you usually tense or anxious?	☐	☐
18.	Are you lacking in self-confidence?	☐	☐
19.	Do you gossip at times?	☐	☐
20.	Do you often feel that you are no good at all?	☐	☐
21.	Are you as strong and healthy as most people?	☐	☐
22.	Are your feelings easily hurt	☐	☐
23.	Is it difficult for you to express your views or feelings	☐	☐
24.	Do you ever get angry?	☐	☐
25.	Do you often feel ashamed of yourself?	☐	☐
26.	Are other people generally more successful than you are?	☐	☐
27.	Do you feel uneasy much of the time without knowing why	☐	☐
28.	Would you like to be as happy as others appear to be?	☐	☐
29.	Are you ever shy?	☐	☐

Appendix 14. Authoritarian F-Scale

1) Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

2) A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.

3) If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.

4) The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.

5) Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never be understood by the human mind.

6) Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.

7) Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

8) What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.

9) No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

10) Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

11) What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

12) An insult to our honor should always be punished.

13) Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.

14) There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

15) Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.

16) Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.

17) When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.

18) Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.

19) Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.

20) People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.

21) Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.

22) Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.

23) No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.

24) It is best to use some pre-war authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos. [You'll have to pretend it is 1946 when you answer this one.]

25) Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

26) Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.

27) Familiarity breeds contempt.

28) Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.

29) The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.

30) The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.

Answers are scored (as in the original instrument) on a 6-point scale, from 1 (Disagree Strongly) to 6 (Agree Strongly).

The following table shows the personality variables the F Scale attempted to measure, and the questions in the F Scale instrument that were deemed to measure those variables. Please note that a single question may measure more than one variable.

The following table shows the personality variables the F Scale attempted to measure, and the questions in the F Scale instrument that were deemed to measure those variables. Please note that a single question may measure more than one variable.

Personality Variable	Questions measuring variable
Conventionalism: Rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.	1, 2, 3, 4
Authoritarian Submission: Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.	1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Authoritarian Aggression: Tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.	2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16
Anti-intraception: Opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender-minded.	3, 4, 17, 18
Superstition and Stereotypy: The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.	5, 6, 19, 20, 21, 22
Power and "Toughness": Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.	8, 11, 12, 20, 23, 24, 25, 30
Destructiveness and Cynicism: Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.	26, 27
Projectivity: The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.	18, 22, 25, 28, 29
Sex: Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."	13, 16, 29

Appendix 15. Generalised Ethnocentrism Scale (Neuliep, 2002)

A 22-item scale measured on a 5-point Likert scale. 15 out of 22 items are assessed whilst 7 are included to balance number of positively and negatively worded items. Statements marked with * are reverse scored.

1. Most other cultures are backward compared to my culture.

2. My culture should be the role model for other cultures.

3. People from other cultures act strange when they come into my culture. f

4. Lifestyles in other cultures are just as valid as those in my culture.*

5. Other cultures should try to be more like my culture.

6. I am not interested in the values and customs of other cultures. f

7. People in my culture could learn a lot from people in other cultures.*

8. Most people from other cultures just don't know what is good for them.

9. I respect the values and customs of other cultures.*

10. Other cultures are smart to look up to our culture.

11. Most people would be happier if they lived like people in my culture.

12. I have many friends from different cultures. f

13. People in my culture have just about the best lifestyles of anywhere.

14. Lifestyles in other cultures are not as valid as those in my culture.

15. I am very interested in the values and customs of other cultures. f

16. I apply my values with judging people who are different. f

17. I see people who are similar to me as virtuous. f

18. I do not cooperate with people who are different.

19. Most people in my culture just don't know what is good for them. f

20. I do not trust people who are different.

21. I dislike interacting with people from different cultures.

22. I have little respect for the values and customs of other cultures.*

Appendix 16. Ethnocultural Empathy Scale

Items marked with a * are reverse coded.

1) I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English.*
2) I don't know a lot of important information about social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.*
3) I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
4) I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.
5) I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English.*
6) I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
7) I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted job opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
8) I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing.*
9) I seek opportunity to speak to individuals of other racial or ethnic backgrounds about their experiences.
10) I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.*
11) When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.
12) I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds.
13) When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms.
14) I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of.
15) I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.*
16) I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.*
17) I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.*
18) I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups.
19) It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
20) I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.*

21) I don’t care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups.*
22) When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.
23) When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration.
24) I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes.
25) I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
26) I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
27) I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream.*
28) It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.*
29) I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.*
30) When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.
31) It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.*

1 2 3 4 5 6

Strongly Disagree that the statement pertains to me

Strongly Agree that the statement pertains to me

Appendix 17. General Attitudes to Refugees/Immigrants – Revised

Items with a * are reverse coded.

1) People from foreign countries should be encouraged to come to live in England.
2) The British government should provide money to aid immigrants and refugees in England.
3) Most immigrants and refugees that come to England are the undesirables.*
4) It will be years before immigrants will be able to stand on their feet economically.*
5) As people, British should feel obligated to help immigrants.
6) England has too many immigrants.*
7) It's a good thing to have people from different countries living in England.
8) It would be better if immigrants settle in another city or country.*
9) There is adequate housing in England so that immigrants do not displace anyone.
10) Immigrants take jobs away from others who deserve them more.*
11) Immigrants are a burden on the British public system.*

The scale scores from 1-5: Strongly Disagree, Disagree Somewhat, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree Somewhat, Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

Appendix 18. Salience in Religious Commitment Scale (Roof & Perkins, 1975)

3-item scale. The numbers in the parenthesis are used for scoring purposes.

1) My religious faith is:

- Important for my life, but no more important than certain other aspects of my life (2)

- Only of minor importance for my life, compared to certain other aspects of my life (1)

- Of central importance to my life, and would, if necessary come before all other aspects of my life (3)

2) Everyone must make very important life decisions, such as which occupation to pursue, what goals to strive for, whom to vote for, what to teach one's children, etc. When you have made, or do make decisions such as these, to what extent do you make the decisions on the basis of your religious faith?

- I seldom if ever base such decisions on religious faith (1)

- I sometimes base such decisions on my religious faith but definitely not most of the time (2)

- I feel that most of my important decisions are based on my religious faith, but usually in a general, unconscious way (3)

- I feel that most of my important decisions are based on my religious faith, and I usually consciously attempt to make them so (4)

3) Without my religious faith, the rest of my life would not have much meaning to it.

- Strongly Disagree (1)

- Disagree (2)

- Agree (3)

- Strongly Agree (4)

Appendix 19. Attitudes towards Religious Fundamentalism

Items with * are reverse coded.

1) God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.
2) No single book of religious teachings contains all the intrinsic, fundamental truths about life.*
3) The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and ferociously fighting against God.
4) It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion.*
5) There is a particular set of religious teachings in this world that are so true, you can't go any "deeper" because they are the basic, bedrock message that God has given humanity.
6) When you get right down to it, there are basically only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God, and the rest, who will not.
7) Scriptures may contain general truths, but they should **not** be considered completely, literally true from beginning to end.*
8) To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, fundamentally true religion.
9) "Satan" is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There really is *no such thing* as a diabolical "Prince of Darkness" who tempts us.
10) Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, *science* is probably right.*
11) The fundamentals of God's religion should never be tampered with, or compromised with others' beliefs.
12) *All* of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings. There is *no* perfectly true, right religion.*

The Scale scores from -4 to 4: You **very strongly disagree** with the statement, You **strongly disagree** with the statement, You **moderately disagree** with the statement, You **slightly disagree** with the statement, You feel **exactly and precisely neutral** about the statement, You **slightly agree** with the statement, You **moderately agree** with the statement, You **strongly agree** with the statement, You **very strongly agree** with the statement

-4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4

You **very strongly disagree** with the statement You **very strongly agree** with the statement

Appendix 20. Vengeance Scale

Items marked with a * are reverse coded.

1) It's not worth my time or effort to pay back someone who has wronged me.*
2) It is important to me to get back at people who have hurt me.
3) I try to even the score with anyone who hurts me.
4) It is always better not to seek vengeance.*
5) I live by the motto "Let bygones be bygones".*
6) There is nothing wrong in getting back at someone who has hurt you.
7) I don't just get mad, I get even.
8) I find it easy to forgive those who have hurt me.*
9) I am not a vengeful person.*
10) I believe in the motto "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth".
11) Revenge is morally wrong.*
12) If someone causes me trouble, I'll find a way to make them regret it.
13) People who insist on getting revenge are disgusting.*
14) If I am wronged, I can't live with myself unless I get revenge.
15) Honour requires that you get back at someone who has hurt you.
16) It is usually better to show mercy than to take revenge.*
17) Anyone who provokes me deserves the punishment that I give them.
18) It is always better to "turn the other cheek".*
19) To have a desire for vengeance would make me feel ashamed.*
20) Revenge is sweet.

The scale is scores from 1-7: Disagree Strongly, Disagree, Disagree Slightly, Neither Agree nor Disagree, Agree Slightly, Agree, Agree Strongly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Disagree Strongly Agree Strongly

Appendix 21. Statistical Data output for Study 3

Correlations

		GAI-R	CFSEI	AFS	GENE	SEE	SRC	ARFS	VS
GAI-R	Pearson Correlation	1	-.017	.437**	.277**	-.615**	.003	.041	.376**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.746	.000	.000	.000	.958	.448	.000
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
CFSEI	Pearson Correlation	-.017	1	-.135*	-.095	-.003	-.029	-.001	-.178**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.746		.012	.079	.952	.595	.981	.001
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
AFS	Pearson Correlation	.437**	-.135*	1	.391**	-.291**	.221**	.128*	.263**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.012		.000	.000	.000	.017	.000
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
GENE	Pearson Correlation	.277**	-.095	.391**	1	-.263**	.133*	.158**	.283**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.079	.000		.000	.013	.003	.000
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
SEE	Pearson Correlation	-.615**	-.003	-.291**	-.263**	1	.081	.042	-.397**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.952	.000	.000		.133	.431	.000
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
SRC	Pearson Correlation	.003	-.029	.221**	.133*	.081	1	-.005	-.001
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.958	.595	.000	.013	.133		.920	.990
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
ARFS	Pearson Correlation	.041	-.001	.128*	.158**	.042	-.005	1	-.034
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.448	.981	.017	.003	.431	.920		.529
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346
VS	Pearson Correlation	.376**	-.178**	.263**	.283**	-.397**	-.001	-.034	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.000	.000	.000	.990	.529	
	N	346	346	346	346	346	346	346	346

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.615[a]	.379	.377	6.53043	.379	209.715	1	344	.000
2	.672[b]	.451	.448	6.14534	.073	45.463	1	343	.000
3	.679[c]	.461	.457	6.09788	.010	6.360	1	342	.012

a. Predictors: (Constant), SEE

b. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, AFS

c. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, AFS, VS

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8943.605	1	8943.605	209.715	.000[b]
	Residual	14670.406	344	42.647		
	Total	23614.012	345			
2	Regression	10660.539	2	5330.269	141.142	.000[c]
	Residual	12953.473	343	37.765		
	Total	23614.012	345			
3	Regression	10897.022	3	3632.341	97.685	.000[d]
	Residual	12716.990	342	37.184		
	Total	23614.012	345			

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors: (Constant), SEE

c. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, AFS

d. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, AFS, VS

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	65.227	2.489		26.202	.000
	SEE	-.284	.020	-.615	-14.482	.000
2	(Constant)	49.308	3.326		14.825	.000
	SEE	-.246	.019	-.533	-12.761	.000
	AFS	.122	.018	.282	6.743	.000
3	(Constant)	45.011	3.714		12.118	.000
	SEE	-.228	.020	-.495	-11.187	.000
	AFS	.114	.018	.264	6.275	.000
	VS	.044	.018	.111	2.522	.012

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

Excluded Variables[a]

Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
						Tolerance
1	AFS	.282[b]	6.743	.000	.342	.915
	GENE	.124[b]	2.834	.005	.151	.931
	VS	.157[b]	3.440	.001	.183	.843
2	GENE	.032[c]	.730	.466	.039	.823
	VS	.111[c]	2.522	.012	.135	.819
3	GENE	.015[d]	.347	.729	.019	.803

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), SEE

c. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), SEE, AFS

d. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), SEE, AFS, VS

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.437[a]	.191	.189	7.45199	.191	81.232	1	344	.000
2	.452[b]	.204	.200	7.40100	.013	5.756	1	343	.017

a. Predictors: (Constant), AFS

b. Predictors: (Constant), AFS, GENE

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	4510.962	1	4510.962	81.232	.000[b]
	Residual	19103.050	344	55.532		
	Total	23614.012	345			
2	Regression	4826.245	2	2413.122	44.055	.000[c]
	Residual	18787.767	343	54.775		
	Total	23614.012	345			

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors: (Constant), AFS

c. Predictors: (Constant), AFS, GENE

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	12.227	1.962		6.232	.000
	AFS	.189	.021	.437	9.013	.000
2	(Constant)	7.930	2.647		2.996	.003
	AFS	.168	.023	.388	7.416	.000
	GENE	.118	.049	.126	2.399	.017

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

Excluded Variables[a]

Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics: Tolerance
1	GENE	.126[b]	2.399	.017	.128	.847

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), AFS

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics: R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.615[a]	.379	.377	6.53043	.379	209.715	1	344	.000
2	.627[b]	.393	.389	6.46469	.014	8.032	1	343	.005

a. Predictors: (Constant), SEE

b. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, GENE

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8943.605	1	8943.605	209.715	.000[b]
	Residual	14670.406	344	42.647		
	Total	23614.012	345			
2	Regression	9279.285	2	4639.642	111.017	.000[c]
	Residual	14334.727	343	41.792		
	Total	23614.012	345			

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors: (Constant), SEE

c. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, GENE

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	65.227	2.489		26.202	.000
	SEE	-.284	.020	-.615	-14.482	.000
2	(Constant)	57.196	3.755		15.230	.000
	SEE	-.269	.020	-.583	-13.365	.000
	GENE	.116	.041	.124	2.834	.005

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

Excluded Variables[a]

Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
						Tolerance
1	GENE	.124[b]	2.834	.005	.151	.931

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), SEE

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.615[a]	.379	.377	6.53043	.379	209.715	1	344	.000
2	.632[b]	.399	.396	6.42995	.021	11.835	1	343	.001

a. Predictors: (Constant), SEE

b. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, VS

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	8943.605	1	8943.605	209.715	.000[b]
	Residual	14670.406	344	42.647		
	Total	23614.012	345			
2	Regression	9432.933	2	4716.466	114.078	.000[c]
	Residual	14181.079	343	41.344		
	Total	23614.012	345			

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors: (Constant), SEE

c. Predictors: (Constant), SEE, VS

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	65.227	2.489		26.202	.000
	SEE	-.284	.020	-.615	-14.482	.000
2	(Constant)	57.706	3.284		17.569	.000
	SEE	-.255	.021	-.553	-12.136	.000
	VS	.063	.018	.157	3.440	.001

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

Excluded Variables[a]

Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics
						Tolerance
1	VS	.157[b]	3.440	.001	.183	.843

a. Dependent Variable: GAI-R

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), SEE

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

          Written by Andrew F. Hayes, Ph.D.       www.afhayes.com
    Documentation available in Hayes (2018). www.guilford.com/p/hayes3

**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : AFS
    M  : GENE

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GENE

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2          p
      .3907      .1527    65.4745    61.9829     1.0000   344.0000      .0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    36.3148     2.1304    17.0459      .0000    32.1246    40.5051
AFS           .1793      .0228     7.8729      .0000      .1345      .2241

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2          p
      .4521      .2044    54.7748    44.0553     2.0000   343.0000      .0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant     7.9303     2.6465     2.9965      .0029     2.7248    13.1358
AFS           .1678      .0226     7.4161      .0000      .1233      .2123
GENE          .1183      .0493     2.3992      .0170      .0213      .2153

****************** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y *****************

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
      .1678      .0226     7.4161      .0000      .1233      .2123

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0212      .0096      .0025      .0407

*********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

          Written by Andrew F. Hayes, Ph.D.       www.afhayes.com
    Documentation available in Hayes (2018). www.guilford.com/p/hayes3

**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : AFS
    M  : GENE

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GENE

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .3907      .1527    65.4745    61.9829     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   36.3148     2.1304    17.0459      .0000    32.1246    40.5051
AFS          .1793      .0228     7.8729      .0000      .1345      .2241

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant        AFS
constant     4.5387     -.0475
AFS          -.0475      .0005

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .4521      .2044    54.7748    44.0553     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    7.9303     2.6465     2.9965      .0029     2.7248    13.1358
AFS          .1678      .0226     7.4161      .0000      .1233      .2123
GENE         .1183      .0493     2.3992      .0170      .0213      .2153

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant        AFS       GENE
constant     7.0041     -.0239     -.0883
AFS          -.0239      .0005     -.0004
GENE         -.0883     -.0004      .0024

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .4371      .1910    55.5321    81.2316     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    12.2268     1.9620     6.2318      .0000     8.3678    16.0859
AFS           .1890      .0210     9.0129      .0000      .1478      .2303

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant        AFS
constant     3.8495     -.0403
AFS          -.0403      .0004

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
      .1890      .0210     9.0129      .0000      .1478      .2303
.0228      .4371

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
      .1678      .0226     7.4161      .0000      .1233      .2123
.0203      .3880

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0212      .0096      .0033      .0417

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0026      .0011      .0004      .0050

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0490      .0220      .0076      .0954

*********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

          Written by Andrew F. Hayes, Ph.D.       www.afhayes.com
    Documentation available in Hayes (2018). www.guilford.com/p/hayes3

**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : SEE
    M  : GENE

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GENE

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2634      .0694    71.9093    25.6538     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    68.9431     3.2325    21.3279      .0000    62.5851    75.3011
SEE          -.1291      .0255    -5.0650      .0000     -.1792     -.0789

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant        SEE
constant    10.4493     -.0815
SEE          -.0815      .0006

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .6269      .3930    41.7922   111.0169     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    57.1961     3.7554    15.2303      .0000    49.8096    64.5827
SEE          -.2691      .0201   -13.3654      .0000     -.3088     -.2295
GENE          .1165      .0411     2.8341      .0049      .0356      .1973

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant        SEE       GENE
constant    14.1032     -.0624     -.1165
SEE          -.0624      .0004      .0002
GENE         -.1165      .0002      .0017

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .6154      .3787    42.6465   209.7147     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    65.2274     2.4894    26.2022      .0000    60.3310    70.1237
SEE          -.2842      .0196   -14.4815      .0000     -.3228     -.2456

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant        SEE
constant     6.1970     -.0484
SEE          -.0484      .0004

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
     -.2842      .0196   -14.4815      .0000     -.3228     -.2456     -
.0343     -.6154

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
     -.2691      .0201   -13.3654      .0000     -.3088     -.2295     -
.0325     -.5829

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE     -.0150      .0067     -.0301     -.0041

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE     -.0018      .0008     -.0036     -.0005

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE     -.0326      .0143     -.0642     -.0089

*********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

          Written by Andrew F. Hayes, Ph.D.       www.afhayes.com
    Documentation available in Hayes (2018). www.guilford.com/p/hayes3

**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : VS
    M  : GENE

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GENE

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2831      .0802    71.0771    29.9819     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    45.2377     1.4421    31.3684      .0000    42.4011    48.0742
VS            .1203      .0220     5.4756      .0000      .0771      .1635

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant         VS
constant     2.0798     -.0301
VS           -.0301      .0005

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .4162      .1732    56.9186    35.9368     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    12.2395     2.5356     4.8270      .0000     7.2522    17.2269
VS            .1297      .0205     6.3252      .0000      .0893      .1700
GENE          .1748      .0482     3.6230      .0003      .0799      .2697

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant         VS       GENE
constant     6.4294     -.0114     -.1053
VS           -.0114      .0004     -.0003
GENE         -.1053     -.0003      .0023

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .3763      .1416    58.9250    56.7471     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   20.1472     1.3131    15.3434      .0000    17.5645    22.7299
VS           .1507      .0200     7.5331      .0000      .1113      .1900

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant         VS
constant     1.7242     -.0249
VS           -.0249      .0004

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
      .1507      .0200     7.5331      .0000      .1113      .1900
.0182      .3763

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
      .1297      .0205     6.3252      .0000      .0893      .1700
.0157      .3238

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0210      .0078      .0081      .0384

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0025      .0009      .0010      .0046

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
         Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
GENE      .0525      .0190      .0203      .0951

*********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

          Written by Andrew F. Hayes, Ph.D.       www.afhayes.com
    Documentation available in Hayes (2018). www.guilford.com/p/hayes3

**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : GENE
    M  : AFS

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 AFS

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .3907      .1527   310.9262    61.9829     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   46.6702     5.7816     8.0722      .0000    35.2985    58.0420
GENE         .8515      .1082     7.8729      .0000      .6388     1.0642

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant    33.4269     -.6168
GENE         -.6168      .0117

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .4521      .2044    54.7748    44.0553     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    7.9303     2.6465     2.9965      .0029     2.7248    13.1358
GENE         .1183      .0493     2.3992      .0170      .0213      .2153
AFS          .1678      .0226     7.4161      .0000      .1233      .2123

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE        AFS
constant    7.0041     -.0883     -.0239
GENE        -.0883      .0024     -.0004
AFS         -.0239     -.0004      .0005

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2771      .0768    63.3729    28.6199     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    15.7627     2.6102     6.0389      .0000    10.6288    20.8966
GENE          .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant     6.8131     -.1257
GENE         -.1257      .0024

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
      .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573
.0316      .2771

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
      .1183      .0493     2.3992      .0170      .0213      .2153
.0143      .1255

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
        Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
AFS      .1429      .0269      .0951      .1985

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
        Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
AFS      .0173      .0030      .0118      .0235

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
        Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
AFS      .1516      .0269      .1029      .2076

*********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

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    Documentation available in Hayes (2018). www.guilford.com/p/hayes3

**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : GENE
    M  : SEE

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 SEE

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2634      .0694   299.5828    25.6538     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   153.9421     5.6752    27.1256      .0000   142.7797   165.1045
GENE         -.5377      .1062    -5.0650      .0000     -.7465     -.3289

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant    32.2074     -.5943
GENE         -.5943      .0113

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .6269      .3930    41.7922   111.0169     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    57.1961     3.7554    15.2303      .0000    49.8096    64.5827
GENE          .1165      .0411     2.8341      .0049      .0356      .1973
SEE          -.2691      .0201   -13.3654      .0000     -.3088     -.2295

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE        SEE
constant    14.1032     -.1165     -.0624
GENE         -.1165      .0017      .0002
SEE          -.0624      .0002      .0004

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2771      .0768    63.3729    28.6199     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    15.7627     2.6102     6.0389      .0000    10.6288    20.8966
GENE          .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant     6.8131     -.1257
GENE         -.1257      .0024

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
      .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573
.0316      .2771

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
      .1165      .0411     2.8341      .0049      .0356      .1973
.0141      .1236

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
        Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
SEE      .1447      .0357      .0792      .2181

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
        Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
SEE      .0175      .0041      .0097      .0258

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
        Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
SEE      .1535      .0351      .0862      .2229

********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

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**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : GENE
    M  : VS

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 VS

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2831      .0802   393.7811    29.9819     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   27.1733     6.5065     4.1763      .0000    14.3758    39.9708
GENE         .6664      .1217     5.4756      .0000      .4271      .9058

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant    42.3344     -.7812
GENE         -.7812      .0148

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .4162      .1732    56.9186    35.9368     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   12.2395     2.5356     4.8270      .0000     7.2522    17.2269
GENE         .1748      .0482     3.6230      .0003      .0799      .2697
VS           .1297      .0205     6.3252      .0000      .0893      .1700

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE         VS
constant     6.4294     -.1053     -.0114
GENE         -.1053      .0023     -.0003
VS           -.0114     -.0003      .0004

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2771      .0768    63.3729    28.6199     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
              coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant    15.7627     2.6102     6.0389      .0000    10.6288    20.8966
GENE          .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant     6.8131     -.1257
GENE         -.1257      .0024

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
      .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573
.0316      .2771

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
      .1748      .0482     3.6230      .0003      .0799      .2697
.0211      .1855

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
       Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
VS      .0864      .0232      .0449      .1346

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
       Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
VS      .0104      .0027      .0056      .0160

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
       Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
VS      .0917      .0238      .0486      .1406

*********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```

```
Run MATRIX procedure:

*************** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Version 3.00 *****************

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**************************************************************************
Model  : 4
    Y  : GAI-R
    X  : GENE
    M  : VS

Sample
Size:  346

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 VS

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2831      .0802   393.7811    29.9819     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   27.1733     6.5065     4.1763      .0000    14.3758    39.9708
GENE         .6664      .1217     5.4756      .0000      .4271      .9058

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant    42.3344     -.7812
GENE         -.7812      .0148

**************************************************************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R

Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .4162      .1732    56.9186    35.9368     2.0000   343.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   12.2395     2.5356     4.8270      .0000     7.2522    17.2269
GENE         .1748      .0482     3.6230      .0003      .0799      .2697
VS           .1297      .0205     6.3252      .0000      .0893      .1700

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE         VS
constant     6.4294     -.1053     -.0114
GENE         -.1053      .0023     -.0003
VS           -.0114     -.0003      .0004

************************ TOTAL EFFECT MODEL ****************************
OUTCOME VARIABLE:
 GAI-R
```

```
Model Summary
          R       R-sq        MSE          F        df1        df2
p
      .2771      .0768    63.3729    28.6199     1.0000   344.0000
.0000

Model
             coeff         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
constant   15.7627     2.6102     6.0389      .0000    10.6288    20.8966
GENE         .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573

Covariance matrix of regression parameter estimates:
           constant       GENE
constant     6.8131     -.1257
GENE         -.1257      .0024

************** TOTAL, DIRECT, AND INDIRECT EFFECTS OF X ON Y **************

Total effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c_ps       c_cs
      .2612      .0488     5.3498      .0000      .1652      .3573
.0316      .2771

Direct effect of X on Y
     Effect         se          t          p       LLCI       ULCI
c'_ps      c'_cs
      .1748      .0482     3.6230      .0003      .0799      .2697
.0211      .1855

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
       Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
VS      .0864      .0231      .0450      .1356

Partially standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
       Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
VS      .0104      .0027      .0055      .0162

Completely standardized indirect effect(s) of X on Y:
       Effect     BootSE   BootLLCI   BootULCI
VS      .0917      .0238      .0486      .1410

********************** ANALYSIS NOTES AND ERRORS ************************

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
  95.0000

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals:
  5000

------ END MATRIX -----
```